TERTULLIANI
LIBRI TRES,
DE SPECTACULIS, DE IDOLOLATRIA,
ET
DE CORONA MILITIS.

THREE TREATISES
OF
TERTULLIAN

WITH ENGLISH NOTES, AN INTRODUCTION, AND INDEXES.

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press,

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INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

THE TEXT OF TERTULLIAN.

IN preparing an Edition of a portion of the works of Tertullian for the Press, the first point to which my attention was naturally directed was the condition of the text.

Of the various Editions which have appeared of the works of this author and of the MSS. used by the Editors, there is a copious account in the last Paris Edition[1] of Tertullian, published at the Migne Press, in 1844, and in the recent Edition of Oehler[2].

The history of the Text is this.

So early as 1485 a printed Edition of the *Apologeticus* appeared as an appendage to an Edition of Lactantius, and this treatise was frequently re-published, usually together with Lactantius.

I. RHENANUS was the first Editor of the *Works* of Tertullian. His Edition was printed at BASLE, 1521. He had the use of only two MSS., one of *Päterlingen* and one of *Hirschau,* of uncertain age[3]. Rhenanus de-

[1] Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani presbyteri Carthaginiensis Opera omnia cum selectis præcedentium editionum lectionibus variorumque commentariis 2 Tom. Parisiis, Excudebat Migne 1844.

[2] Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani quæ supersunt omnia edidit Franciscus Oehler. Lipsiæ, T. O. Weigel. 1853.

[3] Of these the Päterlingen MS. alone is known to exist. It is preserved in the Rhenanian Library at Schlettstadt. Oehler, who has seen it, describes it as *Liber membranaceus elegantissime scriptus.* Of the treatises of Tertullian it contains, 1, De Paciencia; 2, De Vera Carne Domini; 3, De Resurrectione Carnis; 4, Adversus Praxean; 5, Adversus Valentinianos; 6, Adversus Judæos; 7, De Præscriptione Hæreticorum; 8, Adversus omnes Hæreses seu De Hæresibus; 9, Adversus Hermogenem. Besides these Rhenanus edited, 10, Adv. Marcio-

scribes these MSS. as so similar as to be plainly derived from the same source. The value of this Edition is greatly enhanced by the scrupulous fidelity with which Rhenanus professes to have transcribed from the MSS.[4]: particularly as Rhenanus considered the state of the text hopeless, and almost abandoned the task of editing it in despair[5]. This Edition did not contain several treatises which have since appeared as part of Tertullian's Works. Among these are the books *De Spectaculis* and *De Idololatria.* So that the *De Corona Militis* is the only one of the three, here published, which is found in the first Basle Edition. Rhenanus added a few notes, and affixed *Definitiones Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum,* as an antidote to any heterodox opinion of Tertullian. There were reprints of this edition in 1525, 1528[6], 1536.

In the year 1539, Rhenanus, with the assistance of GELENIUS, published a second Edition of Tertullian at Basle. The same works of Tertullian are in this as in the former Edition; but Rhenanus, who begins to take heart as to his task, seems to have given up the scrupulous fidelity he professes in the former Edition. He

nem; 11, De Corona Militis; 12, Ad Martyras; 13, De Pœnitentia; 14, De Virginibus velandis; 15, De Habitu Muliebri; 16, De Cultu Fœminarum; 17, Ad Uxorem; 18, De Fuga in Persecutione; 19, Ad Scapulam; 20, De Exhortatione Castitatis; 21, De Monogamia; 22, De Pallia; 23, Apologeticus. These last, it appears, were on the authority of the Hirschau MS., except that the Apologeticus was probably reprinted from an earlier Italian edition. The Aldine text of the Apologeticus (1515) agrees accurately with that of Rhenanus.

4 'Itaque quando loca mendosa deprehendebam et non subvenirent exemplaria, sciens religiose esse tradenda auctorum scripta non secus ac res sacras, nihil mutare volui (qui tamen multis mos est), sed conjecturas, quæ tum in mentem forte veniebant, in marginibus adjeci.' RHENAN. IN PRÆFAT.

5 'Nam si per otium mihi contigisset opus evolvere, priusquam informari cœpisset, tot mendis compertis ab edendo supersedissem.' RHENAN. PRÆF.

6 The text of 1528 was somewhat altered from conjecture, but Rhenanus had then no fresh MSS.

7 This MS., which is not known to exist now, Oehler considers to have been more accurate than those which Rhenanus had hitherto used, but to have been of the same family.

8 These were, 1, De Testimonio Animæ; 2, De Anima; 3, De Spec-

had the benefit of a new MS. from *Gorzia*[7] near Milan; but says that he was chiefly aided *ad exactiorem castigationem* by conjectures founded upon the discovery of the *Græcizing* style of Tertullian.

In 1545, GANGNÆUS first published at Paris, together with the works previously known, IX. fresh Treatises of Tertullian, including the *De Spectaculis* and *De Idololatria*[8]. What MSS. Gangnæus used is not known[9].

GELENIUS in 1550, at Basle, published a complete Edition of the works of Tertullian, 'revised' (he tells us) 'by reference to several MSS. from various parts of Germany and France,' but especially to the *Codex Britannicus*. This MS., which G. calls *longe incorruptissimus*, contained only three of the works of Tertullian published by Rhenanus, viz. *De Præscriptionibus, De Resurrectione Carnis, De Monogamia;* but contained also all the treatises first published by Gangnæus[10].

There were reprints of this Edition at Basle in 1562, and at Paris, 1566.

In 1580 an Edition was published at Paris by *Barræus*

taculis; 4, De Baptismo; 5, Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiacus; 6, De Idololatria; 7, De Pudicitia; 8, De Jejunio Adversus Psychicos; 9, De Oratione.

[9] From his MSS. or MS. Gangnæus supplied *lacunæ*, and corrected many places; but generally when an emendation was conjectural was contented to place the better reading in the margin.

[10] Oehler has no doubt that the *complures codices* were those already used by Rhenanus: and that Gelenius had besides these only the *Codex Britannicus*, brought to him by Leland from the *Cœnobium Masburense*. (Masbrough). This MS. seems to have contained, 1, De Resurrectione Carnis; 2, De Præscriptionibus; 3, De Monogamia; 4, De Testimonio Animæ; 5, De Anima; 6, De Spectaculis; 7, De Baptismo; 8, Contra Gnosticos Scorpiacus; 9, De Idololatria; 10, De Pudicitia; 11, De Jejunio; 12, De Oratione; together with the treatise of Novatian, De Trinitate, and a letter of the same author, De rebus Judaicis. Gelenius has not described the MS., so that it cannot now be identified, nor has he told us where he altered the text from MS., and where from conjecture. Gelenius being given to great freedom in conjectural emendations, the Ed. Gangnæa may be considered to represent most faithfully the readings of the class of MSS. used by him and Gelenius.

(de la Barre), who seems to have made use of the Editions of Rhenanus and Gelenius, but has not distinguished whence he has taken either readings or notes. On comparing this Edition with others, I find that the readings usually agree with Gelenius, and it does not appear that he knew of the Edition of Pamelius.

II. PAMELIUS rendered most important services to the text of Tertullian. His first Edition of his works was published at Antwerp, 1579. He employed especially three MSS. from the Vatican, two from Belgium, and one from England, (all of uncertain date[11]). He revised the text, and introduced many alterations, some from MSS., but some, as his notes tell us, from conjectures of himself and others. He added some poetical works and fragments in Latin and Greek, not before edited; and divided the treatises into their present chapters. He prefixed a life of Tertullian, and *Paradoxa Tertulliani cum Antidotis Pamelii.*

The text of this Edition seems to have been preserved in the Editions of Paris, 1583; Antwerp, 1584; Paris, 1585.

In 1587, *Junius* published at Franeker an edition, adding his own notes to those of Pamelius, but scrupulously retaining the text of Pamelius.

The most valuable contribution which Junius made to the text of Tertullian was the collation of the *MS. Fuldensis* (now lost), containing the *Apologeticus* and *Adversus Judæos.* This collation had been made by Franciscus Modius of Bruges, and was given to Junius by Gasper Schoppius. Junius considered that more than one MS. had been used, but Oehler says that an observation of the various readings will shew that the only MS. collated

[11] Oehler says that all the MSS. in the Vatican which Pamelius used are of the worst character. The only important additional aid he possessed was the English MS., called by him *Codex MS. Joh. Clementis Angli.* This MS. Oehler identifies with a MS. mentioned in an ancient catalogue of a library, edited by Mai, but it does not appear now to be extant. The Vatican MSS. did not contain the De

was the Fuldensian, and that this was a MS. of a family distinct from all the common MSS. of these treatises.

The Pamelian Editions were repeated at Geneva, at Paris, at Franeker, at Heidelberg, at Cologne, in various forms, up to 1617, the date of the Cologne Edition.

La Cerda published at Paris, 1624—30, two volumes of an Edition which was never completed. He gives no information as to the principle upon which he formed his text, but he appears, as far as I can judge from examining the treatises here published, to have taken Pamelius' text, and introduced such emendations from the conjectures of himself and others, as seemed to him necessary for the explanation of the author. In many cases he has professedly altered the text on mere conjecture. His object was especially to illustrate and explain. La Cerda made use of the Editions of Rhenanus, Pamelius, and Junius; and his notes contain most of their information enriched with copious illustrations, both from classical and ecclesiastical writers. The whole of the text is broken up into paragraphs, and to each paragraph is annexed (distinct from the notes) a paraphrase, wherein every difficulty is either explained or attempted to be explained. This Edition has been much used by Oehler and other Editors.

In 1625 the two Books *Ad Nationes* were first published at Geneva, by *James Gothofred*, from the *Codex Agobardi*, a MS. of the 9th Century. The MS. the Editor presented to the Royal Library at Paris, where it is still preserved. The MS. is imperfect, but contains, among other treatises, the treatises *De Spectaculis, De Idololatria*, and *De Corona*.

Spectaculis or De Idololatria. The Cod. Clementis contained 1, De Spectaculis; 2, De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum; 3, De Resurrectione Carnis; 4, De Monogamia; 5, De Jejunio adversus Psychicos; 6, De Pudicitia, together with Novatian's De Trinitate. Pamelius also used a MS. (of the eleventh century) of the Apologeticus only, called the *Cod. Puteanus*, now in the Royal Library at Paris.

III. Rigalt is the most distinguished of the Editors of Tertullian. He published his first Edition at Paris, 1634. The text differs widely from those which preceded it. The Editor premises that the text of Tertullian as it stood in all editions and most MSS. extant, had been miserably corrupted by the alterations of scribes ignorant of the peculiarities of Tertullian, and that to obtain the true text recourse must be had to MSS. earlier than these corrections. He does not set a high value on the MSS. used either by Rhenanus or Pamelius, but conceives that his two great aids towards obtaining a genuine text were,

1 The emendations which *John a Wower* transcribed from the handwriting of *Fulvius Ursinus*, in a MS. preserved in the Vatican, and published in 1603, under the title of *Emendationes Epideicticæ*, stating that Ursinus had taken these corrections from MSS.

2 The *Codex Agobardi*[12].

Rigalt added notes, chiefly explanatory, mentioning only in a few cases the alterations he had made in the text, and the grounds upon which he made them. The alterations are very numerous. He sums up in an Index under the name of each Treatise the extent of his alterations. Thus, '*De Spectaculis.* Emendatus octies et centies ex Codicibus Agobardi et Ursini.' '*De Idololatria.* Emendatus centies et trigesies ex Agobardi et Ursini Codicibus.' '*De Corona.* Emendatus octies et septuagies ex Agobardiet Ursini Codicibus.'

[12] This MS. of the ninth century is now in the Royal Library at Paris. It is of parchment, and much mutilated. Gothofred, who first used it, describes it, telling us that it has an inscription, LIBER OBLATUS AD ALTARE SCI STEPHANI EX VOTO AGOBARDI EPI. (this Agobardus being, no doubt, a bishop of that name, who lived in the time of Charlemagne); and that on the first page is an index, HIC SUNT TERTULLIANI LIB. XXIV. AD NATIONES LIBER I, II, &c. Eight of the twenty-four treatises, he says, are lost, besides great part of the De Carne Christi. It contains, 1, Ad Nationes libri duo; 2, De Præscriptione Hæreticorum; 3, De Scorpiace; 4, De Testimonio Animæ; 5, De Corona; 6, De Spec-

The text has also in many cases (as we learn from the notes) been altered from mere conjecture.

3 A MS. entitled *Codex Pithœi*, now *Montispessulanus*, of the 11th century, mutilated. It contains, 1, De Patientia; 2, De Carnis Resurrectione; 3, Adversus Praxean; 4, Adversus Valentinianos; 5, Adversus Marcionem; 6, Apologeticus.

4 Besides, he used the *MS. Puteanus*, and the *MS. Fuldensis* as collated by Junius; and a MS. called *Codex Divionensis*, in Rigalt's opinion of no great worth.

The text thus formed by Rigalt has been most widely accepted. Leprieur in 1661, says of it, 'Labore indefesso, atque ea sedulitate cum antiquis codd. libros omnes contulit, ut nihil addi possit neque post tantam messem spicilegium ullum faciendum existimemus.'

It may, however, be remarked (1) that Rigalt's conviction of the corrupt state of all MSS. but one, inclined him to a very free use of corrections upon conjecture. (2) That of the numerous alterations he has made, he has seldom mentioned where he has the authority of MSS. (3) That he has in many cases adopted in the text readings professedly conjectural; and (4) that his alterations rest mainly upon two sources, one the Codex Agobardi, the other supposed MSS. used by Ursinus, which he describes as *Rhenanianis longe meliores*. A recent examination, however, of the MS. in the Vatican, made for the Editor of the Oxford translation, 1842, has proved that the notes of Ursinus were merely *conjectural* emendations. See Preface to Oxf. Transl.[13]

taculis; 7, De Idololatria; 8, De Anima; 9, De Oratione; 10, De Cultu Fœminarum; 11, Ad Uxorem libri duo; 12, De Exhortatione Castitatis; 13, De Carne Christi; and was specially prized by Rigalt as being the only MS. extant anterior to the correction and depravation of the text by copyists. Oehler agrees in Rigalt's estimate of this MS., adding, however, that the great difference between this and the common MSS. of Tertullian probably lies in its belonging to a distinct recension. A specimen of the two recensions as distinct from each other may be seen in the opening of the De Corona.

[13] Oehler remarks that Rigalt

Omitting one or two less important Editions, we come to that of *Priorius* (Le Prieur), published at *Paris*, 1664. This is the first of an intended series of Latin fathers, undertaken by a Society; but is the only volume which appeared. It was for some time considered as the *Editio Optima*, containing all Rigalt's notes, with selections of those of Rhenanus, Pamelius, La Cerda, and others, with some notes by the Editor.

Le Prieur adheres to the text of Rigalt.

The Editions of Rigalt and of Priorius were republished at various times and places.

These have been the sources from which subsequent Editions have in general been derived.

Of modern Editions we may notice that commenced by Semler at Halle, in 1769, and completed by Schutz. Semler in general restored the text of the first edition of Rhenanus, but also altered much from conjecture. Schutz followed the same plan, adopting the readings of Rhenanus and Pamelius, except where they were altogether intolerable[14].

More important is the Edition published at the Migne Press at Paris, in 1844. The Editors profess to adopt as their basis the text of Le Prieur, that is of Rigalt, but at least as frequently they adopt the more ancient reading. They note the varieties of reading of various Editions in many instances; but this is very imperfectly done, and there are many errors. A selection

did not sufficiently appreciate the distinct character of the MS. Fuldensis, and accordingly made corrections of particular words from that MS., mixing them up with readings of MSS. of an altogether different family. He also confirms the statement that the alteration of *Ursinus*, edited by John a Wouwer, were purely conjectural. Oehler, who is certainly not inclined to depreciate the Cod. Agob., remarks on De Cor. c. 5: 'Quem (sc. Cod. Agob.) innumeris lacunis et mendis per librarii incuriam natis fœdatum esse ex hoc de Corona libro et reliquis facile aliquis demonstraret.'

[14] Of this edition Oehler says: 'Quanquam Joh. Semleri et Chri. Godofr. Schützii et quorundam aliorum interpolatrices potius quam emendatrices manus ab illius scriptis melius abstinuissent.'

[15] This MS. contains, 1, De Pa-

of the notes of Pamelius, La Cerda, Rigalt, and others, accompanies the text. This is a valuable Edition, but it is by no means accurately printed, and in many cases the explanatory notes refer to a different reading to that of the text. The Editors do not seem to have consulted MSS. themselves, except that they may have seen the Cod. Agobardi, but nothing like a collation of this MS. is attempted.

The Edition of Oehler is the most complete which I have seen.

Besides the early Editions, Oehler has had the benefit of

1 Two distinct collations of the Cod. Agobardi, the former made by Stephen Baluz in the 17th century, the latter by Hildebrand for this Edition.

2 The collation of various other MSS. from the libraries of Florence and Vienna. None of these MSS. contain either the *De Spectaculis* or *De Idololatria*. The most valuable in his estimation is the *Cod. Magliabechianus*, of Florence (of the 15th century), which seems to be of the same family as the *Cod. Pithœi*[15].

3 Emendations and corrections of Josias Mercer and Joseph Scaliger, noted in the margin of copies now preserved at Leyden.

This Edition has an Apparatus Criticus noting the various readings of the MSS. used, and of the Editions

tientia; 2, De Carne Christi; 3, De Carnis Resurrectione; 4, Adversus Praxean; 5, Adversus Valentinianos; 6, Adversus Marcionem; 7, Apologeticus; 8, De Fuga in Persecutione; 9, Ad Scapulam; 10, De Corona Militis; 11, Ad Martyras; 12, De Pœnitentia; 13, De Virginibus velandis; 14, De Habitu Muliebri et De Cultu earum (sic); 15, De Exhortatione Castitatis; 16, Ad Uxorem; 17, De Monogamia; 18, De Pallio; 19, Contra Judæos; 20, Adversus omnes Hæreticos; 21, De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum; 22, Adversus Hermogenem. To this MS. Oehler has referred in the De Corona, and has given a specimen of a collation made for him by the librarian of the Medicean Library; and considers it to be the only Florentine MS. deserving of more accurate inspection than it has hitherto received.

of Rhenanus, Gangnæus, Gelenius, Pamelius, and Rigalt, and in the *Apologeticus*, of the MSS. of Heraldus, and Muratori. Oehler has in general, but not always, given the preference to the readings of the Cod. Agob. and has in some instances inserted in the text emendations of his own, noting always that he has done so. He has also selected from the notes of previous Editors, such as seemed useful, adding notes of his own. In his notes he seems to have made great use of the Commentary of La Cerda. The third volume contains dissertations upon Tertullian and his works by various hands, Pamelius, Allix, Le Nourry, Mosheim, Centner, Noesselt, Semler, and Kaye[16].

From what has been said, it will be seen that of the treatises *De Spectaculis* and *De Idololatria,* the only MS. known to exist is the Codex Agobardi. The following then are the independent sources from which the readings of these two treatises are derived:

1 Codex Agobardi.

2 Editio Gangnæa, the MS. or MSS. used not being known.

3 Editio Geleniana, the Cod. Masburensis being used.

4 Editio Pameliana, the Cod. Clementis Angli being used.

In the *De Corona* the sources are more numerous:

1 Codex Agobardi.

2 Codex Magliabechianus, to which Oehler refers only in the first six chapters.

3 Codex Vindobonensis.

4 Codex Florentinus.

5 Editio Rhenani, representing the Hirschau MS.

6 Editio Gangnæana, MS. or MSS. unknown. The Editio Geleniana probably represents no new MS.

[16] The first Chapter of Kaye's Tertullian is rendered into Latin by Oehler.

7 Editio Pameliana, in which three Vatican MSS. were used.

Finding that the notice of various readings was very imperfect in the editions of Tertullian, I had, previously to the appearance of Oehler's edition, collated the editions of Gelenius, of Pamelius, and of Rigalt, as the representatives of the three sources of the text of the De Spectaculis and De Idololatria. I had not been able to procure the edition of Gangnæus, nor had I the opportunity of consulting any MS. The appearance of the edition of Oehler, in which so much more was done in respect to the text than I could even attempt, rendered it quite unnecessary for me to complete my comparatively insignificant collation. And I have therefore made use of Oehler's *Apparatus Criticus* in order to determine the text which I should adopt, only noting such varieties of reading as seem materially to affect the interpretation of any passage. Those who wish for more particular information in this respect will find it in Oehler's edition.

The text which I have adopted does not precisely agree with that of any edition that has hitherto appeared. The imperfections of the Cod. Agobardi, which Oehler himself allows and notices, have led me to consider that somewhat too high a value has been set upon it. Where the other ancient sources agree, I have in general adopted the reading derived from them, although it is true that in the first two treatises here published, the sources are so few, that it may be fairly thought by many that one actual MS. (and that ancient and good) should outweigh the authority of two or three whose readings are only known through early printed editions. But agreement even of only two or three MSS., if these are independent, as in this case there seems reason to suppose, has had with me the preponderance.

In the case of the *De Corona*, the sources being more

numerous, I have felt somewhat more confidence in adopting this principle. For instance, in the opening sentences the Codex Agobardi has a reading evidently belonging to a different recension from that of the reading of Pamelius. As I find that the other ancient editions and the MSS. which are known, including the Cod. Magliabechianus, agree with Pamelius, I have followed Pamelius, the two readings being equally intelligible.

The principal purpose which this edition of three Treatises of Tertullian is meant to serve, is that of rendering this portion of a very difficult author intelligible to readers not familiar with his style. Niebuhr denies that there are any provincialisms to be found in African Latinity, and asserts that its peculiarity consists merely in the introduction of ancient phrases from the earlier Latin writers[17]. And, as in early writers, like Lucretius, and in those who recurred to archaic phraseology, like Tacitus, we find constructions upon a Greek model, there is often a doubt whether particular expressions in Tertullian are to be set down to his imitation of early writers, or to his familiarity with the Greek language. It is remarkable that in the case of the other writer, who especially represents the African style (Apuleius), Greek was the language of his youth, and Latin was acquired afterwards by study[18], and Tertullian certainly wrote in Greek as well as Latin[19].

Independently however of any peculiarity of this kind, Tertullian's writings are frequently obscure, not so much on account of his language as of his mode of thought[20]. And in order to facilitate the study of his works it is quite as necessary to explain his arguments as to illustrate his Latinity. I have endeavoured to do

17 Neander's Antignost. p. 206. (Eng. Trans.)

18 Apul. Metam. I. init.

19 De Cor. c. 6, and De Virg. Vel. c. I.

20 Lactant. D. I. v. I (quoted

this; and though some of my notes may seem unnecessary to the more practised scholar, I trust that they will not be useless to those for whom they were intended.

There is no lack of material ready at hand to the commentator upon Tertullian. The notes of Rhenanus, Pamelius, Rigalt, not to mention more modern annotators, supply all or nearly all that is wanting. But the most copious commentaries are those of La Cerda. I have consulted the best of those commentators, and especially have examined throughout the paraphrase and notes of La Cerda, who brought in information of all kinds from the earlier commentators as well as from his own knowledge. The notes of Oehler have also been very serviceable to me, although great part of these are derived from earlier editors, and especially from Rigalt, one of the most acute and sagacious of commentators. Besides this, I have made use of the late Bishop Kaye's *Account of the Writings of Tertullian*, and of Neander's *Antignosticus* (of which there is an English translation in a volume of Bohn's Library), and of the translation of Mr Dodgson, published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*.

The ancient editions which I have had in hand are these:

1 The first edition of Rhenanus, 1521, belonging to Cambridge University Library.
2 That of Gelenius, 1566, in the British Museum.
3 That of De la Barre, 1582.
4 That of Pamelius, 1617.
5 That of La Cerda, 1624—30.
6 That of Rigalt, 1641.
7 That of Le Prieur, 1664.

The five last are in Sion College Library.

by Rhenan. Vita Tertull.): *Septimius quoque Tertullianus fuit omni genere litterarum peritus, sed in loquendo parum facilis et minus comptus et multum obscurus fuit. Ergo ne hic quidem satis celebritatis invenit.*

PART II.

THE PURPOSE OF THE THREE TREATISES, ON SHOWS, ON IDOLATRY, AND ON THE CROWN.

CHAPTER I.

On the Date of the Composition of the three treatises.

THE date of the composition of these three treatises can be settled only by internal evidence. It has been generally assumed by those who have discussed this question, that the *De Spectaculis* was written upon occasion of some general exhibition of public shows, which brought the question of their lawfulness prominently into notice. Although this is far from improbable, the language of the treatise does not make it necessary. The supposed allusion[1] is far too vague to justify any decided inference from it. The subject of the shows and of idolatry must have been constantly before the mind of the Christian, so that it would require no special occasion to account for the appearance of such treatises. At the same time, if upon other grounds we conclude that these books were written within a period in which any such general exhibition took place, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that this circumstance may have been the immediate cause of their appearance.

The striking similarity of expression and mode of thought observable in these three treatises, incline us to assign to them dates not widely distant from each other, while the distinct mention of the *De Spectaculis* in the *De Idololatria* (c. 13), and the (at least) implied reference to it in the *De Corona* (c. 6), determines the priority of order to the *De Spectaculis*. The *De Idolola-*

[1] De Spectac. c. 6: *De natalibus et solemnitatibus regum, et publicis prosperitatibus.*

tria seems so closely connected with the *De Spectaculis*, that we are naturally disposed to place it immediately after the *De Spectaculis*. In this we are confirmed by the more decided tone of Montanism in the *De Corona*, which marks a somewhat later period in Tertullian's life. And the brief notice of military service in the *De Idololatria*[2] would scarcely have been unaccompanied by a reference to the fuller discussion of the same subject in the *De Corona*[3], had that treatise then been in existence.

If then we can ascertain the probable date of the *De Corona*, we may, by taking a few steps backward, approach nearly to the dates of the other two treatises. We are not without means of ascertaining this. The first Chapter proves,

1 That it was written at a time at which there was more than one Emperor (*præstantissimorum Imperatorum*);

2 That the Christians had been long enjoying immunity from severe persecution;

3 That a donative had just been given to the soldiers.

1 Although at the commencement of Severus' reign, in 193, he half recognized the authority of his rival Pescennius Niger, and allowed to Albinus the dignity of Cæsar, so that some have supposed *præsentis imperii triplex virtus* in the *De Pallio*[4] to refer to the threefold authority of Severus, Niger, and Albinus, still it is certain that their armies never acted in concert, and Severus proceeded to destroy his rivals one after the other. Niger was defeated and slain in 196, Albinus in 197, and Caracalla was associated in the empire with his father Severus in 198. The *De Corona* then must have been written in or after 198.

2 The natural interpretation of *bonam longamque*

[2] De Idol. c. 19. [3] De Cor. c. 11. [4] De Pall. c. 2.

pacem would refer it to the interval of comparative repose which the Christians enjoyed between the persecution of Antoninus in 167 and that of Severus in 202. Some have supposed that the persecution, although begun, had not reached the East where the incident mentioned in the *De Corona* took place; but it is improbable that Tertullian would not have known of the edict of 202, or that he would have written as he did without referring to it. We may also remark, that although the treatise tells of the punishment of the soldier as being a Christian, it does not imply that there was then any violent persecution raging. At all times under heathen emperors the open profession of Christianity would have met with punishment, especially in the case of a soldier acting against common discipline. And Tertullian's hesitating admission of the possibility of a Christian remaining in the army without blame[5] would not have been made in times of a public persecution. This then seems to determine the date of the *De Corona* as not later than 202.

3 Having thus brought ourselves within four years, we examine the history of the times, and find records within these years of three acts of imperial liberality: (1) in 198, to the people when Severus set out for the East[6]; (2) to the soldiers, in honour of giving to Caracalla the title of Augustus, and to Geta that of Cæsar[7]; (3) in 202, when Severus and Caracalla were meditating an expedition into Egypt[8]. Of these three the second most accords with the case of Tertullian, the first being rather a largess to the *people*, the third an increase of *pay*. If then we must select one of these three occasions, we bring the date of the *De Corona* to 201, a

[5] De Cor. c. 11.

[6] Spartian. Sever. (quoted by Noesselt) c. 14: *Profectus ad bellum Parthicum est, edito gladiatorio munere et congiario populo dato.*

[7] Ibid. c. 16: *Harum appellationum causa donativum militibus largissimum dedit, concessa omni*

date on all accounts very probable. But it must be remarked that there may have been many minor distributions of donatives not mentioned by the historian, any one of which may have been accompanied by the incident mentioned by Tertullian; so that the determination of the year is only conjectural.

If we are to consider that the two former treatises were written upon some public occasion, we may find one in the festivities which followed the overthrow of Albinus in 198[9]. At all events the season of rejoicing, which followed upon the complete establishment of Severus' power, would call for such treatises; and we may therefore conclude, with a great degree of probability, that these three treatises were all written in the course of the four years following upon the defeat of Albinus.

It will be observed that I have drawn no argument from the Montanistic views which appear in the several treatises, excepting so far as affects their relative order. The truth is that we have no certain means of determining the year in which Tertullian joined the ranks of Montanus, and, as Bishop Kaye remarks[10] in answer to an insinuation of Gibbon, the determination of an early date to the *De Corona* would only prove the early date of Tertullian's adhesion to Montanism.

There is no evidence as to the place from which any of these treatises were written. We may however infer from an expression in the *De Spectaculis* that it was not written at Rome[11], and his strictures upon lax ministers in the opening chapter make the same probable of the *De Corona*. It is most likely all three were written at Carthage.

præda oppidi Parthici quod milites quærebant.

[8] Ibid.: *Post hoc dato stipendio cumulatiore militibus Alexandriam petiit.*

[9] Herodian. III. 8: θυσίας τε καὶ ἑορτὰς, θέας τε καὶ πανηγύρεις τῷ δήμῳ πρόσεσχε.

[10] Kaye's Tertull. p. 53.

[11] De Spect. c. 7: *sciunt homi-*

CHAPTER II.

The State of Heathen Society, and the consequent difficulties of a Christian.

To understand the position of a Christian under the early Emperors, we must glance at some of the main features of the life and manners of the heathens at this time. These were most conspicuous at Rome itself, but each provincial town followed, though with unequal steps, the example of the metropolis.

1 The public amusements occupied an important place in the life of the community. When the wealth of conquered cities flowed into Rome, and the arts and luxuries of foreign nations were transplanted to the Latin soil, this wealth and these arts were soon employed to contrive and multiply the public entertainments and shows. But this natural result of increased power was extraordinarily promoted under the Empire from other causes. The policy of Augustus[1] to keep the citizens loyal by supplying them with food and with public entertainments was followed by his successors, many of whom, like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, sharing the popular taste, heightened it by their patronage and example. Some of the worst of the Emperors were originally corrupted by these entertainments[2], and patronized them by the most unseemly actions; while the more sober thought it prudent to indulge the taste of

nes illius urbis, in qua dæmoniorum conventus consedit.

[1] Comp. Sueton. Aug. c. 43, 44.

[2] Herodian, III. 8, ascribes the corruption of Caracalla to this cause: *τούς τε υἱεῖς παιδεύων καὶ σωφρονίζων (Σεβῆρος), οἱ δὲ ἤδη μειρακία ἤστην, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης, τῆς τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα ὑπερβαλλούσης σπουδῆς, ἡνιοχείας τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως, τὰ ἤθη διεφθείροντο.* This was about the time at which the De Spectaculis was written.

[3] Cassiodor. Variar. I. 20: *Licet inter gloriosas Reipublicæ curas et regalium sollicitudinum salutiferos fluctus pars minima videatur, Prin-*

the populace; as the wise Theodoric deemed it not unworthy amid his graver cares to take thought for the amusements of the people[3].

The three sources of public amusement were the chariot-races in the circus; the gladiatorial shows and combats with wild beasts in the amphitheatre; and the exhibitions of the theatre.

The passion for the chariot-race had taken early hold of the Roman people. Ennius describes vividly the excitement caused by a chariot-race in his day (B.C. 170), and Ovid has more than one description to the same effect[4]. The madness of the circus had soon become proverbial, but the height to which this madness mounted under the emperors is almost inconceivable. Caligula, when the populace were clamouring against his favourite charioteer, wished that they had one neck, that he might destroy them all together[5], and upon one occasion let loose a body of soldiers to massacre a crowd that shewed a similar opposition to his wishes[6]. The quarrels between two factions espousing different colours led to frequent bloodshed. The imprisonment of a favourite charioteer was the occasion of an insurrection at Thessalonica[7], and the murder of its governor, an act which was subsequently revenged by a massacre of the people at a chariot-race. And the rescripts of Theodoric inform us that senators of Rome made no scruple of sending in armed retainers to deal out death to the populace when their favourite charioteers were assailed with taunts or ridicule[8].

cipem de spectaculis loqui, tamen pro amore Reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has quoque cogitationes intrare; quia, undecumque præstare possumus, dignum nostris sensibus æstimamus; præsertim cum beatitudo sit temporum lætitia populorum. Illud enim, propitiante Deo, labores nostros asserit quod se otiosum esse cognoscit. Comp. Cassiodor. Var. I. 27; I. 30; I. 33; III. 55; IV. 51; V. 42.

[4] See passages quoted in notes on De Spect. c. 16.

[5] Suet. Cal. c. 30.

[6] De Spect. c. 16, n. 1.

[7] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c. XXVII.

[8] Cassiodor. Var. I. 27.

The taste for gladiatorial shows was not less national with the Romans. This cruel diversion, which had originated in the rude age of war and blood, lost none of its attractions in the days of spurious civilization and polished barbarism. Julius Cæsar, when ædile, exhibited 310 pair of gladiators. Titus gave shows lasting 100 days; Trajan, shows of 123 days, in which were engaged 10,000 gladiators. Nor were these shows, any more than the chariot-race, confined to the capital. Each provincial town had its circus and its amphitheatre. In every town of the least importance the arena was stained with the blood of men slain either in combat with their fellows, or in contests with wild beasts. It is computed by Lipsius that in the times of Trajan no less than 20,000 or 30,000 gladiators fell in each month throughout the year. *Atque hæc delicias vocabant et cibum oculorum*[9]!

The theatre at Rome had at all times differed widely from that of Greece. Tragedy was but a tame copy of a Greek original, wanting most of its worthiest elements: comedy, even in the hands of Terence, had aimed at little more than representing in a native dress the productions of Athenian masters. The Romans of the Empire did indeed delight in the theatres, but not to enjoy either tragedy or comedy. The age of Roscius was past. The very name of actor (*histrio*) was synonymous with that of pantomimist (*mimus*). These pantomimes resembled in some respects the modern ballet. Some story was told by action accompanied by music, but unaccompanied by words; *musica muta*, as Cassiodorus calls it[10]. The pantomimists had great art in repre-

[9] Lips. Saturnal. I—12.

[10] Cassiodor. Var. I. 20.

[11] Apuleius, Met. X. c. 30, describes one of these representations, of which the subject was the Judgement of Paris.

[12] De Spect. c. 17, n. 6.

[13] See De Spect. c. 11, n. 1.

[14] Tac. Ann. XIV. 20: *Nerone quartum, Cornelio Cosso coss. quinquennale ludicrum Romæ institutum est ad morem Græci certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova,... Ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios*

senting actions of all kinds by gestures of their body. But the actions[11] were commonly such as involved the grossest indecency, and the wantonness and immodesty of these pantomimists was the constant subject of complaint with the graver sort of the heathens themselves[12]. Such were the theatrical exhibitions of Imperial Rome, varied by rope-dancing and such posture-work, and disgraced yet more by the grossest of all exhibitions—the public exposure of naked women at the Floral games.

Besides these amusements, which had originated under the Republic, the Emperors encouraged games after the Greek fashion[13]. The introduction of athletes was indeed earlier than this. But Nero took the most decided steps to bring in the Greek form of contests, and was censured by some who regarded these foreign amusements as indicative of degeneracy[14]. But the fashion grew, and in the vast Thermæ built by successive emperors, the Stadium and Palæstra always had their place. We shall be little inclined to consider these amusements as degenerate in comparison with those of the circus, theatre, and amphitheatre. But their introduction was a mark of the entire abandonment of the populace of Rome to pleasure, and helped to make the life of the citizens a life of idle enjoyment and dissipation.

The vicious excitement, the barbarity and the impurity connected with all these entertainments, might well make them odious to those who had embraced the precepts of the Gospel.

But there was yet another reason for their unlawful-

mores funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpere et corrumpi queat in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis juventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo, principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant; proceres Romani specie orationum et carminum scena polluantur. quid superesse nisi ut corpora quoque nudent et cæstus assumant, easque pugnas pro militia et armis meditentur?

ness. They were bound up with a religion which had been forsaken and renounced. The games of the circus were introduced with a religious procession and sacrifices to the idols, placed in such numbers within the circus. The bloodshed at the gladiatorial shows was supposed to propitiate the god Dis, whose altar was in the amphitheatre[15]. The theatre was expressly dedicated to Venus, being annexed to a temple of that goddess[16]. Not to dwell on minor points, these circumstances were enough to brand all such amusements with the stigma of idolatry, which it was one of the main purposes of Christianity to overthrow.

2 The more serious occupations of heathen life were of course connected in various ways with the state-religion. The very construction of idols, their shrines, and their temples, found employment for a very numerous body of men, like Demetrius and those of his craft at Ephesus. The use of incense had created a traffic in which many were engaged; and, besides those who were solely devoted to the making and worship of idols, the goldsmith, the carpenter, the painter, the gilder, the plumber, all found employment in their service[17]. The professions too were equally allied to this service. Astrology and magic were practised and followed by numbers in the last days of superstition, and, notwithstanding their repeated banishment by different emperors, the astrologers were in high favour[18]. The connexion of these arts with false worship is obvious. But other professions, less obviously idolatrous, were also bound up with idolatry. The schoolmaster had to teach heathen literature, to receive fees dedicated to heathen gods, and to keep heathen festivals[19]. The duties of a magis-

15 De Spectac. c. 12, n. 4.
16 De Spectac. c. 10.
17 De Idol. c. 8.
18 De Idol. c. 9, and notes.
19 De Idol. c. 10.
20 De Idol. c. 17.
21 De Idol. c. 17.
22 De Idol. c. 15.

trate required him to take the lead in heathen processions and exhibitions, and to perform other acts which were by Christians deemed unlawful[20]. The slave was often called upon by his master to assist in the household sacrifices[21]. The rejoicings for victory or for the birthday of their rulers were celebrated with pagan rites[22]. The common language of society, whether in adjuration, malediction, or benediction, involved an invocation of the gods of the country[23]. All the events of life—marriage, the assumption of the *toga virilis*, and the like—were mixed up ordinarily, though not necessarily, with sacrifices and idol-worship[24]. The form of contracts prescribed in ordinary business included an appeal to the deities as objects of reverence and guardians of the sacred trust[25], while the insignia of office were the same decorations as those with which they tricked out their idols. The military service in which so many were engaged gave rise to such duties, as participation in sacrifices at the head-quarters, bowing down before the images of Emperors, and putting on ornaments which were apparently idolatrous[26].

3 Much of the dress and decorations in common use was similarly mixed up with idol-worship. The insignia of magisterial office, the purple robes, the fasces, and the like, were the accessories of images and their service[27]. The triumphal robes were worn by generals, by priests, and by gods. The most common ornament, the crown, used continually on every festive occasion, in the city and in the camp, was not only idolatrous in its origin[28], but the very occasions of its use were of the same idolatrous character. Was it worn on the annual vows for the emperor's health? The vows were

[23] De Idol. c. 20—22.
[24] De Idol. c. 16.
[25] De Idol. c. 23.
[26] De Cor. c. 11.
[27] De Idol. c. 8.
[28] De Cor. c. 7.

to a false god, recognized distinctly by the formula employed[29]. At triumphs? The procession was to Jove's temple[30]. At games? They too were idolatrous. Every public solemnity included thank-offerings to the recognized deities of the country. And the crowning of doors, windows, and the like, was commonly deemed in honour of the tutelary deities, such as Forculus and Limentinus[31].

Thus were the living, in camp, capital, or province, constantly brought into contact with idols and their services; and the very dead were decked with ornaments similar to those worn by the false gods[32].

It must be remembered that to the Christians in the charge of idolatry were summed up all the offences of mankind[33]. It was the one great offence of the human race, of which all the rest were but branches and subdivisions. Murder, adultery, and fraud, were included in this sin. Covetousness, wantonness, vanity, and injustice, were its attendants; and as every offence against God was an act of homage to the devil, every crime involved in it the guilt of dæmon-worship, *i.e.* of idolatry. For the idols of heathendom were not deemed mere stocks and stones, but were believed to be occupied and possessed by evil spirits, the ministers of Satan; a belief fostered and confirmed by the Pagan theory of consecration[34], according to which a certain afflatus of Divinity came upon the images after their solemn consecration. This would naturally enough induce the Christian to believe that at such time the evil spirits entered into the idols, and that thus the worship of them was the worship of devils[35].

Thus hedged in with idolatry, unable to enter the streets or market-places without seeing things which

[29] De Cor. c. 12.
[30] De Cor. c. 13.
[31] De Cor. c. 13.
[32] De Cor. c. 10, n. 3.
[33] De Idol. c. 1. Comp. De Spect. c. 15: *principalis titulus idololatriæ.*
[34] De Idol. c. 15, n. 8.

were to him an abomination, the Christian of Tertullian's day might well feel the world to be filled by Satan and his ministers[36], and tremble lest he make shipwreck of his faith among the rocks and shoals of idolatry[37].

CHAPTER III.

The different views of different parties in the Christian Church.

The same treatises which draw attention to the position of Christians in a heathen state, discover a difference of sentiment in reference to this subject developing itself in the Church.

In the first stage of Christianity, the chief opposition to the cause was from the Jews. The heathen cared little for religious dogmas, while singularity of life and manners in a small body of men attracted only sufficient notice to excite the contempt of the community at large. But when Christianity began to make its way among the Gentiles, having ceased to be insignificant, it became odious to those against whom it lifted up the voice of condemnation. For it was soon understood that it involved a principle entirely subversive not only of the old worship, but of the most deeply-seated prejudices, and the most inveterate habits. In proportion as the new religion increased, the splendour of the temple-services declined, and the public entertainments became less thronged, and therefore less brilliant. These effects augmented the dislike that singularity commonly cre-

[35] So in the present day the Iconoclast rebels of China designate the idol-worship of their countrymen, the worship of 'the corrupt spirits that are in the world.'

[36] De Spect. c. 8.

[37] De Idol. c. 24.

ates, and soon kindled the flame of persecution. The dominant party would not tolerate open acts of what they called impiety, however much they might disregard heterodoxy of opinion. The Christian apologists then (such as Minucius Felix and Tertullian) had to plead with the powers of the world to allow Christians to take their own course, at least where there was no injury done to the state, and no offence committed against morality. At first the heathen, wishing to crush a sect they began to hate and fear, made participation in religious rites and the performance of sacrifice the test of a man's sentiments. No sooner was he suspected, than he was accused, put to the proof, and if he failed to clear himself, condemned, and martyred. But when the still growing numbers of Christians made it highly inconvenient to hunt them out, and impossible to exterminate them, their opponents shewed a willingness to offer terms of compromise. When no violent persecution, such as from time to time broke out, was raging, they would suffer the Christians to abstain from such things as were absolutely opposed to their faith, content to wink at this abstinence, provided the Christians would on their part join in the common usages of life, and not obtrude their peculiarities upon those who disagreed with them. You need not, it was urged, participate because you are present at a sacrifice. You need not profess belief in the national gods, because your trades are connected with the service of these gods. Much less will you deny your faith by partaking in the national amusements, even although these amusements may accidentally be connected with the religion you have abandoned. Only let things go on as they are. Do not provoke enquiry by openly protesting against the customs of society, and you may be assured of liberty of worship, and indulgence in all graver particulars, provided

you do not make a parade of unnecessary strictness, whereby you both debar yourselves from much innocent profit and amusement, and at the same time disparage and interfere with what we most highly prize.

The offer of this compromise at once brought before the Christians the question, how far it was lawful to conform; and this question was variously answered by various parties within the Church. The one extreme was the view of those who glossed over all differences, took part in the amusements and employments of heathen society, and even thought idol-makers fit to be received into the Church, and admitted freely to bear rule in it. The other, that of those who, deeming the whole world in the possession of Satan and his angels, allowed no distinction between what was accidentally and what was essentially mixed up with idolatry. Gibbon, who unhappily never lost an opportunity of throwing out an insinuation against Christianity, has taken advantage of this variety of opinion, and by bringing forward, as it suited his purpose, one or other extreme, and attributing to the whole community the sentiments of a section, has represented the system of Christianity now as one of self-indulgent laxity, and now as one of fanatical rigidity. The truth is, that between the two extremes was wide room for differences of opinion, and the determination of the golden mean was not arrived at immediately or with certainty. The true philosopher will recognize the vital power of Christianity, and trace its gradual conquest over the world, in obliterating the worst features of heathen society, sensible all the while that the conquest neither was consummated when the empire became nominally Christian, nor will indeed be completed until temptation, sin, and error shall be no more. The repugnance of the public shows to the Christian principle was early recognized, and expressed in the form of renunciation required of each Christian at his

baptism, a form which we retain to the present day, many being little aware that the promise to renounce the *pomps* of this world was first imposed on account of the public spectacles of Rome, and was connected with that discipline which refused to admit into the Church any person immediately engaged in the performance or administration of those heathen shows[1]. It is the glory of the Christian writers that they with one voice cried aloud against the inhumanity and the vanity of the popular amusements of the day[2]. And their voice was partially heard. The gladiatorial combats, the most plainly abominable, were forbidden by the first Christian emperor, but they were not at once discontinued. Gladiators were exhibited under Constantine, Valentinian, and even Theodosius. And the Christian poet Prudentius felt the necessity of making an appeal on this subject to the emperor Honorius, an appeal which was answered by their final suppression. In the other amusements the establishment of Christianity made a substantial difference; for it disconnected them from idolatry. The idol procession and the sacrifices in the Circus ceased, and the altars and the images were for the most part overthrown, while those ornaments which remained were understood no longer to bear reference to the honour of false deities[3]. Accordingly Christian emperors did not

[1] Comp. Bingh. Christ. Antiq. x. 5, 6—9.

[2] S. Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, S. Augustin, S. Chrysostom, all enter upon this subject. Irenæus (I. 6, 3) mentions it as one of the worst features of Gnosticism *ὡς μηδὲ τῆς παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις μεμισημένης τῆς τῶν θηριομάχων καὶ μονομαχίας ἀνδροφόνου θέας ἀπέχεσθαι ἐνίους αὐτῶν*. Julian, in the Rescript referred to in the next page, evidently wished to re-establish Paganism by introducing into it the purer morals of Christianity. At the close he recommends to the priests the care of the poor, which, he says, the Galilæans, finding it neglected, took up as a bait to draw in followers to their sect. Julian, Op. p. 557.

[3] The *Pompa Circensis* was abolished by Constantine. All the other exhibitions in the Circus, and the *Venationes*, were abolished in the time of Justinian. But the chariot-race was continued, and these games were exhibited in the Hippodrome at Constantinople until its capture by the Turks. The Hippodrome is

hesitate to frequent and patronize the games of the Circus; and the laxer sort were ready enough to contend that, the idolatry being removed, no further objection lay against their favourite pleasures. We find indeed the passion for the chariot-race for a long period almost undiminished; but at the same time the more earnest Christians saw and remonstrated against the moral evils connected with it, and their remonstrances were not without effect. The emperor Julian, in his vain endeavour to re-establish Paganism by a reformation, and to assimilate the heathen priests to Christian ministers, enjoined them to abstain from theatres and places of amusement[4]; while the earnest rebukes of S. Augustin[5] shew that if there were light-minded and carnal Christians, there were also others of another sort, differing from them not in profession but in heart. And S. Chrysostom, while he tells us how long he had lifted up his voice in vain against the unseemly pleasures of Antioch and Daphne, tells us also that in the hour of calamity, the orchestra was shut, and the Hippodrome closed. 'Before this,' says the preacher, 'many of our own people hastened to them, but now they are all fled hither from thence to the church, and all alike join in praising our God[6].'

The trades, professions, arts, ceremonies, and con-

said to have been first built at Byzantium by Severus, and to have been ornamented by Constantine, who, Zosimus declares, made part of it a temple to Castor and Pollux, whose images still remained there in his time (that of the younger Theodosius). See Petri Gyll. Topograph. Constantinop. Lib. II. c. II. Panvinius (De Ludis Circensibus) gives an engraving of the Hippodrome made from a drawing taken by Petrus Gyllius at the time of the taking of Constantinople. It is in a ruined state. The Spina still remains with obelisks, but there are no remains of images or altars.

[4] De Spect. c. 17, n. 6.

[5] S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. l.: *De multis baptizatis* (loquimur) *a quorum lavacro nihil distatis, et eorum tamen corde dissimiles estis. Quam multos etiam hodie fratres nostros cogitamus et plangimus ire in vanitates et insanias mendaces, negligere quo vocati sunt! Qui si forte in ipso circo* etc.

[6] S. Chrys. on Statues, Hom. XV. init.

tracts were, as a matter of course, materially altered when the empire became Christian, but we find many usages retained, which the Christians of an earlier age thought essentially idolatrous. Such, for instance, was the use of chaplets. The Apologies of Minucius Felix and Tertullian[7] would convey the impression that the Christians universally abstained from the use of chaplets, and Tertullian speaks of the abstinence as the Christian rule[8]. But his treatise on the subject shews that there were Christians who demurred to this rule. And when the more obvious objection (viz. their use in heathen worship[9]) was removed, or at least became less prominent with the decline of Paganism, this scruple was generally given up, and the poet does not hesitate to call upon Stilicho to assume the chaplet at the nuptials of his son-in-law, the Christian Honorius[10]. And although the use of chaplets was actually forbidden by a rescript of Arcadius and Honorius, Prudentius allows the use of flowers to deck the biers of the dead[11]. We are more surprised to observe the change of sentiment that appeared in the Christian community. Even in the days of Arnobius the use of temples, altars, incense, flowers, and lights, was thought absolutely unchristian[12]. But one by one each of these was appropriated to the service of God[13], until at last the images of saints took the place of those of false deities. It is foreign to my purpose to point out the various stages in this progress, or to shew how idolatrous ceremonies were grafted upon Christianity. The assertion of Gibbon, that Christianity mainly owed its growth to the adoption of pagan rites and superstitions, is con-

[7] Octav. c. 38. Tertull. Apolog. c. 42.

[8] De Cor. c. 2.

[9] Arnob. VII. p. 234; where see Heraldus.

[10] De Cor. c. 13, n. 11.

[11] Cath. X. 170, quoted in De Cor. c. 10, n. 3. Observe that Prudentius does not mention *chaplets*, but *flowers*. Obbarius in Prudent. Cath. III. 2, on the authority of this passage of Prudentius, says that *chaplets* for the dead were allowed, and refers to Perist. IV. 20, *Corduba Acisclum dabit et Zoëllum Tresque coronas*, to prove that *coronæ ho-*

tradicted by the fact, that it had rooted itself in the hearts of the people before it was patronized by the court, as is proved by the failure of Julian's attempt to re-establish Paganism by imperial authority, and by the popularity acquired by Jovian in consequence of his return to the faith forsaken by his predecessor[14]. This adoption of heathen ceremonies after they had been purified, as it was thought, of idolatry, was in fact the result of that feeling which, we have seen, prevailed in much earlier times, with Christians who deemed that the world's riches and the world's ornaments were capable of being disjoined from idolatry and so rendered fit for the use of Christians.

CHAPTER IV.

The views of Tertullian.

Such was the state of parties in the Christian Church, when Tertullian came forward to answer the question as to conformity or non-conformity. He had no doubt which side to espouse. He had, it appears, as a heathen, enthusiastically delighted in heathen pleasure, and as a Christian, he enthusiastically abhorred them[1]. What he most feared was double-mindedness, and the confusion of light and darkness. He had little inclination to trace out principles shared in common by Christian and Gentile. He drew a broad line of demarcation between

norariæ were lawful. Plainly the three crowns in Prudentius are the offerings of three martyrs metaphorically denoted *tres coronas*.

[12] Comp. Min. F. Octav. c. 10. and 32. Arnob. Lib. VII.

[13] Contrast the language of Tertull. De Idol. c. 15, with Prudent. Cathem. v. 149: *O res digna, Deus, quam tibi roscidæ Noctis principio grex tuus offerat, Lucem qua tribuis nil pretiosius, Lucem qua reliqua præmia cernimus.*

[14] We may note a proof of the early diffusion of Christianity in the incidental remark *et apud barbaros enim Christus.* De Cor. c. 13.

[1] De Spect. c. 19, fin.

the world and Christ[2]. Any attempts to reconcile the two seemed to him unworthy and unlawful, and were the more suspected when they took the line which might have been suggested by the love of pleasure or the fear of man. To his ardent temperament the dangers and self-denial required for a certain course were its recommendation; and if on any point Scripture seemed less explicit than he would have desired, he would sigh for a yet stricter rule, and discover it by implication if not by letter[3], persuaded the while of the certainty of his deductions and of the present aid of the Spirit of Illumination. These feelings impressed themselves upon the method and the language of Tertullian, besides suggesting the particular topics that he selected. The vehemence of his temper and the strength of his convictions made him intolerant of opposition, and accordingly we find a strong vein of irony running throughout his works, whereby the views of his adversaries are represented as manifestly absurd. This is one striking characteristic of his style. Another is the love of paradox, which is traced up by some to his education as a jurist, but is probably at least as much owing to the eager hardihood, which led him to maintain the more resolutely every point assailed or assailable, and to believe with the more earnestness what was called incredible[4]. We must not then be surprised to find in Tertullian's writings many extreme views, and farfetched arguments; but our judgment of him would be indeed superficial, should we insist upon the harshness of particular features, or be led by any ruggedness of manner and expression to disparage the inward spirit of the man. He had higher merit than that which Eusebius accords to him as a

[2] De Spect. c. 26. De Cor. c. 10, and c. 12.

[3] De Spect. c. 3.

[4] De Carn. Christ. c. 5: *non pudet, quia pudendum est—prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est—certum est quia impossibile.*

[5] 'In quo genere primum occupat

deep philosopher, an expert logician, a practised rhetorician, and a learned antiquarian[5]. Zealous, self-devoted, and thoroughly sincere, he was one who was seduced into error by his very desire to do and suffer for the truth,—no unapt representation of the stern old Roman character, which counted no toil severe enough, no obstacle great enough, to interrupt the straight course to national power and individual renown, only that Tertullian substituted for the love of country a love of Christ, and for the empty vision of undying fame, the more fair and more certain prospect of eternal happiness in heaven.

We shall find no difficulty in discovering the points in Tertullian's character that unhappily inclined him towards the errors of Montanus. Not to enter into details upon the subject of Montanism, it will be sufficient to remark, that the feature of that system which proved attractive to so many, was its profession of a more perfect rule than that of the Gospel, more elevated in knowledge, and more austere in practice; this rule being established by direct communication of the Paraclete to man, especially to Montanus and his associates. This principle was in fact the exaggeration of the truth that Christianity must be interpreted not by the letter but by the spirit, and that the assistance of the Holy Ghost was given to the people of God. The exaggeration resulted in fanaticism and imposture; but Tertullian was not the man to weigh evidence very scrupulously, or to start back from apparent improbabilities; and the highflown pretensions of the Montanists suited his vehemence, always striving to soar above the world and all that was in the world. As long

locum Tertullianus omnium disciplinarum exacte peritus, et in arcanis litteris nulli secundus. Philosophiam calluit egregie, disputandi rationem summe tenuit, in rhetoricis exercitatissimus, in omni antiquitatis et gentilium litterarum cognitione consummatissimus, quam ei laudem Eusebii Ecclesiastica historia tribuit.' RHENAN. PRÆF.

as he could take these flights within the Church, he was content, and he valued highly the dogmatic truths therein taught; but when his enthusiasm was looked upon coldly, and was checked by persons in high station, his impetuosity could not brook the opposition. In the Roman Church, there was from the first a leaning towards moderation in regard to discipline[6], which to Tertullian must have seemed culpable laxity, and this may not improbably have brought him into collision with the presbyters of Rome, to whose arrogant treatment of him Jerome ascribed his secession[7], much as in modern days Whitfield and Wesley were said to have been driven from the Church by the persecution of its rulers, because these rulers felt the necessity of interfering to check and moderate the excesses of their enthusiasm. We may therefore expect to meet with many points of resemblance in the opinions maintained by Tertullian in his Montanistic and his non-Montanistic Treatises. In some we shall find positive assertion of the tenets of the new sect, and positive attacks upon the members of the Church[8]. But where these are wanting, we discover the same method of argument, references to the same Scriptural passages in the same sense, and a prominency given to those topics which were the favourite topics of Montanism. The mere mention of the New Jerusalem, Revelations, the Universal Priesthood, and the like, are not enough to determine that Tertullian was a Montanist when he made them[9]. If we could arrange with certainty his treatises in chronological order, and know positively the date of his secession, we might trace throughout the gradual development of his particular views in one direction, in the course of which he for some time imagined himself to be only maintaining the Church-sys-

[6] Bunsen's Hippol. Vol. I. p. 133.

[7] Kaye's Tertull. p. 6.

[8] In De Coron. c. 1, the attack is rather allusive than direct. Sub-

tem, but at last found himself carried beyond it, and then began, as so many have since done, to attack those whom he had left as perverters of the genuine spirit of Christianity. In determining the order in which the three treatises now before us appeared, we were partly guided by internal marks, and must not therefore now assume the order, and thence draw positive conclusions. But we may go so far as to point out how well the proposed order falls in with the known history of Tertullian, and the probable course by which such a person would pass over to such a sect as that of Montanus; and it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the very choice of his subjects is suggestive of some such progress. He first denounces the shows, where he seems to have reason and authority evidently on his side; then trades and professions and customs, where there is room for doubt; and lastly, an usage which though undoubtedly mixed up with idolatry, was in itself harmless and indifferent.

I do not, however, propose to dwell minutely upon the indications of Montanism or of a Montanistic tendency in the several treatises. Some of them will be brought forward in the course of the following remarks upon some of the special arguments employed by Tertullian on the subjects here taken in hand.

CHAPTER V.

Some of Tertullian's special Arguments.

§ 1. *Upon Expediency.*

The pleas of necessity, pleasure, and expediency, were not likely to win much favour with a man like Ter-

sequently he expressly attacked the orthodox under the title of *Psychici.*

[9] De Spect. c. 29. See Kaye's Tertull. p. 41.

tullian. The pleasure-seeker had indeed little to urge. That the indulgence of eye and ear did not interfere with devotion[1] was manifestly contrary to reason and experience. Nor would the difficulty of obtaining a livelihood justify unlawful means of subsistence[2]. The propriety of avoiding persecution, conciliating favour, and the like, must evidently depend upon the actions themselves being indifferent. It is observable that Tertullian meets such pleas by a reference to the baptismal vow[3]. He shews the nature of the service into which the baptized had entered, what they had promised to give up, and having to his own satisfaction proved that the things to which he objects were included in the baptismal renunciation, he triumphantly appeals to the duty of forsaking the world, of suffering or of dying for Christ's sake.

§ 2. *Upon the excellence of God's Works.*

One plea, however, deserved especial consideration, and the mode in which it was answered is indicative of the general views of Tertullian. The world, it was said, was created by God[4]. All that was in it was intended to minister to man's profit and delight. Why then not enjoy those objects which are all part of God's creation? Herein lay the germ of those opinions, which, carried out into their consequences, resulted in Gnosticism, and

[1] De Spect. c. 1.

[2] De Idol. c. 12.

[3] The constant reference to the baptismal vows, and to the dedication of the baptized to the service of God, can scarcely escape notice. Besides the broad distinction between *Christiani* and *Ethnici*, the former being admitted to God's household, (De Spect. 2, *familiari jure*), we find in each of these three treatises the main argument considered likely to influence Christians is that of the baptismal vow. Thus De Spect. c. 4: *principalem auctoritatem signaculi nostri—renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompis et angelis ejus*. Ibid. c. 6: *spiritus quibus renuntiamus*. c. 12: *sine pompa diaboli non sunt*. c. 13: *qui bis idolis renuntiavimus*. c. 24: *pompa diaboli adversus quam in signaculo fidei ejeramus*. De

which were so vehemently opposed by Tertullian. The danger lay in obliterating the distinctiveness of Christianity, and losing sight of the consequences of the fall. Tertullian's reply was both philosophical and just. True, that the works of creation were good. True, that man was created in the image of God, but his nature was corrupted at the fall, and so he substituted for the natural the unnatural use of the things which God had made. True, that there are many created things, common to all mankind, sanctioned by Christ as man, and yet misapplied to the service of devils. But the mere fact of its being a creature of God does not solve the doubt. We must distinguish, on grounds of Scripture, reason and authority, what are and what are not necessary, and in the true sense natural usages.

§ 3. *Upon Scripture.*

The authority of Scripture being beyond dispute paramount, the first appeal was made to this. The arguments of his opponents, as Tertullian represents them, might spring from simplicity or scrupulousness, but rested upon a narrow view of the contents of Holy Writ[5]. They searched for literal precedents, often adducing such as were very far from obvious, and failing these, maintained that what is not expressly prohibited is allowed. To these narrow views Tertullian was abso-

Idol. c. 6: *De ipso sacramento nostro.* Ibid. c. 15: *templis renuntiasti.* c. 18: *tu si diaboli pompam ejerasti.* c. 20: *dejeratio per eos quos ejerasti.* De Cor. c. 3: *ut a baptismo ingrediar,* (this however has reference to the particular rites of baptism). Ibid. c. 11: *divinum humano sacramento superduci—totam substantiam sacramenti subvertit.* c. 12: *tu proinde miles ac servus alterius es conscriptus in libris vitæ—redemptus a Christo—causæ in sacramenti testatione ejeratæ—pompæ diaboli.* And lastly, the remarkable comparison in De Cor. c. 13, between the *miles Christi* and *miles Mithræ. Idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi tentatus fuerit de sacramento.*

[4] De Spect. c. 2. De Cor. c. 6.

[5] De Spect. c. 3. De Cor. c. 2.

lutely opposed. The comprehensiveness of Scripture rules, and the obligation to observe not the letter merely, but the spirit, were with him fundamental principles. And although he may have erred in the opposite extreme, as where he maintains against his adveraries, that whatever is not expressly permitted is forbidden[6], and where he makes use of such forced deductions, as that from the first Psalm[7], or where he attributes an extravagant authority to individual decisions[8], he was in the main right. The Gospel-rules are for the most part general, to be applied to all the circumstances of those who embrace it. And it is the business and the duty of men to make deductions from its general principles. The exaggerated view of the promise that the Holy Spirit will aid both the Church as a body, and individuals in their search after truth, was a main feature of Montanism; and the position, that the determination of any Christian has the force of law, occurs, not indeed without qualification, in the last of these three treatises[9]. We shall have little difficulty in agreeing with Tertullian, that precepts against murder, adultery, and the like, carry in them potentially a prohibition of the sports of the circus, amphitheatre, and theatre[10], or that the command against idol-making included the subsidiary employments directly and peculiarly connected with this trade[11]; although we may not be inclined to acquiesce in the deduction of the unlawfulness of military service from the disarming of Peter[12]; or in the parallel of

[6] De Cor. c. 2: *Sed quod non prohibetur ultro permissum est. Immo prohibetur quod non ultro est permissum.*

[7] De Spect. c. 3.

[8] De Cor. c. 4.

[9] De Cor. c. 4. The qualification, indeed, almost makes the proposition unobjectionable, *duntaxat quod Deo congruat, quod disciplinæ conducat, quod saluti proficiat;* but the tone of the remarks in this chapter indicates a considerable leaning, if no more, to Montanistic views of special inspiration.

[10] De Spect. c. 15—19.

[11] De Idol. c. 8.

[12] De Cor. c. 11.

Judas' sale of Christ for thirty pieces of silver, with the reception of an imperial largess[13]. These extravagances, if we may so call them, (and some such occur in the writings of most earnest men of all times) have often been taken hold of, and ridicule thrown upon the writer who employed them, by men who, dwelling upon superficial blemishes, have failed to penetrate to the truth which lies within. Whatever may become of particular arguments, the one great truth which Tertullian maintains is this, that Christianity is a religion of the spirit, and must be judged and appreciated by the Spirit given to man.

§ 4. *Upon Tradition.*

The application of the Scripture, according to its spirit, required to be determined by some rule. And this necessarily involved the question, what authority is to be given to previous determination, or in other words, to the tradition of the Church. And as this question has been handled by Tertullian in more than one treatise, and some have appealed to him in support of the Romanist theory of tradition[14], it may be well to examine his views on this point.

1 The authority of tradition in establishing *doctrine* is not discussed in any of these three treatises, but it is discussed in the *De Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos*[15]. Tertullian there, in shewing upon what ground heretics are to be met, objects to the mere appeal to Scripture on two grounds, first, because these discussions are for-

[13] De Cor. c. 12.

[14] 'In traditionibus mire facit Tertullianus contra Calvinistas et Magdeburgenses, qui audacter nimis asseruerunt hoc Montani dogma esse quod falsum et mera calumnia. Nam Montanus auctore Eusebio, Lib. v. Hist. contraria quædam traditioni primus proposuisse fertur.' Le Prieur on De Cor. c. 2. The passage in Euseb. is probably v. c. 16: *παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα*, which implies no more than that Montanus introduced certain novelties.

[15] C. 15—19.

bidden by the Apostle (1 Tim. vi. 4; Tit. iii. 10); an argument, it will be observed, itself based upon Scripture; and secondly, because heretics do not adopt the same canon, or the same principle of interpretation as the orthodox.

To settle the preliminary question, Where is the true canon, and the true principle of interpretation? we must consider the source from whence it is derived. If we find, on the one hand, a number of Churches, which can trace up the succession of their ministers to the Apostles themselves, agreeing and holding what they do hold as a legacy bequeathed to them by their predecessors, and on the other, a body of men bringing forward some new principle, the result of their own cogitations, we may determine, according to Tertullian, that the truth lies with the former[16]. The nearer the apostolic times were, the more forcible was this argument, the greater the probability that the judgment of the Apostle was preserved. And hence the great value of the succession[17], (the *traditio apostolica*, upon which Irenæus[18] insists so frequently), because it might fairly be supposed that in a Church where the rule had passed in an unbroken line the truth would be preserved.

Further than this, the agreement of all such Churches in one belief was, in Tertullian's mind, a strong presumption in favour of their conclusions; nor shall we, I think, be inclined to hesitate in adopting his rule, which was an anticipation of the famous one of Vincentius of Lerins, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*[19]. But those

[16] De Præscript. c. 20.

[17] De Præscript. c. 32.

[18] Iren. III. c. 3: Τὴν μὲν οὖν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ φανερουμένην ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πάρεστιν ἀναγνωρίσαι πᾶσι τοῖς τἀληθῆ ὁρᾶν ἐθέλουσι, καὶ ἔχομεν καταριθμεῖν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθέντας ἐπισκόπους κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς διαδεξαμένους αὐτοὺς ἕως ἡμῶν, τοὺς μηδὲν τοιοῦτο διδάξαντας μηδὲ ἐπιγνόντας, οἷον ὑπὸ τούτων ληρωδεῖται.

[19] De Præscript. c. 28: *Age nunc omnes erraverint, deceptus sit*

were not the main grounds upon which Tertullian insists. The promise of the Spirit, given as a teacher of truth, was at all times impressed strongly upon his mind. Here too, we shall scarcely dissent from the position that the Holy Spirit has preserved in the Church of Christ a body of fundamental truths. But in the application of the rules the difficulty lies. What are *universal*, what are *fundamental* truths? Nor can we disguise from ourselves that Tertullian's answers to these questions were often wrong; and it is here that controversialists of all days have made their departure, often into very different lines of argument.

But while we admit the general principles laid down by Tertullian, we must allow that he to a considerable extent lost sight of the circumstance that the guidance of the Spirit does not exclude the admixture of error with truth, whether in the individual or in the Church visible; that one consequence of human infirmity is this, that even in the transmission of truth error will grow up, and that it requires learning, thought, and patience, to discover it. The exaggeration, I had almost said the caricature, of the principle that truth is in the Church, which would make mere lineal succession an adequate guarantee for its presence, is the foundation upon which the errors of the Church of Rome rest. These deductions belonged to a later age than that of Tertullian's, for his constant appeals to Scripture as the supreme authority, shew that if he took the doctrine at first hand from authority, he subjected it to the trial of Scripture and of reason, and thence argued back to

Apostolus de testimonio reddendo quibusdam, nullam respexerit Spiritus Sanctus, uti eam in veritatem deduceret, ad hoc missus a Christo, ad hoc postulatus a Patre ut esset doctor veritatis, neglexerit officium Dei villicus, Christi vicarius, sinens Ecclesias aliter interim intelligere, aliter credere, quam ipse per Apostolos prædicabat: ecquid verisimile est ut tot ac tantæ unam fidem erraverint? Nullus inter multos eventus unus est exitus, variasse debuerat error doctrinæ ecclesiarum.

the confirmation of the legitimacy of the authority to which he had already submitted; a process precisely that prescribed by our own Articles, which set forth the Church as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ, having authority only to propose those things as necessary to salvation which can be proved by the warranty of holy Scripture[20]. We observe that Tertullian has likewise furnished us with the *rule of faith* that is to be the test of a true Church[21]. This rule of faith contains simply a summary of the objective truths of Christianity, as contained in the Apostles' Creed; nor does it appear that even as a Montanist he had any idea of development of *doctrine*, but only of the development of the spiritual powers and mental faculties of believers. In a treatise[22], where there is a clear promulgation of Montanistic views, and where the subject of tradition is again handled, Tertullian prefaces his remarks with the same *rule of faith* containing the same objective truths which he had elsewhere maintained[23].

2 On the authority of tradition in establishing *observances*, we have an interesting discussion in the *De Corona*. We remark that Tertullian does not treat of these observances, as of rites and ceremonies, indifferent in themselves, which the Church may decree or annul as a matter of order[24] and authority, but as grounded upon the analogy of faith, and therefore absolutely binding. True tradition was a legitimate deduction from the principles of Christianity, and as such obligatory by whomsoever made. Custom was the practi-

[20] Artt. VI. and XX.

[21] De Præscript. c. 13.

[22] De Virg. Vel. c. 1.

[23] See the remarks in Kaye's Tertullian, p. 273, foll., where Tertullian's views as proposed in the *De Præscriptionibus* are fully examined.

[24] Bp Kaye, in his remarks (Tertull. p. 286) appears to me (if I may express my opinion) not to distinguish sufficiently between the view of rites and ceremonies contained in our Articles and that of Tertullian. The XXXIVth Article views these rites and ceremonies as matter of order

cal testimony of such tradition. Both tradition and law were enunciations of that which was imperative, not on account of the law, nor on account of the tradition, but on account of the principle which was involved therein[25].

To discover this principle (*ratio*), or the *reason of the thing*, was highly edifying, as confirmatory of faith, but was not necessary. The law or the tradition must be first accepted without question, and then might be established against gainsayers by an examination of the principle. No doubt this view sets a very high value upon tradition; but when reason is once set to judge, as Tertullian proposes, it will not always be content with returning an answer in support of authority; and Tertullian himself found this to be the case. Where he is arguing on the side of universal custom, he insists upon that as paramount, but in laying down his general axioms on the authority of custom, he seems himself conscious of the need of some qualification. When he comes forward afterwards to dispute against a custom of the African Church[26], he is not content with a mere appeal to reason in the case of a disagreement in custom, but states some general propositions that are scarcely consistent with what he had advanced upon the former occasion. Truth must never be sacrificed to custom. Lapse of time, respect of persons, and the prerogative of localities, often give birth to customs that militate against truth. Heresy is not convicted by its novelty, but by its falsehood. The Spirit promised to the disciples is to stand in the place of custom[27]. We

and authority in a particular church, liable to be changed and modified by proper authority in that church. Tertullian regards them as unalterable, being authoritative deductions (if rightly made) which to infringe would be to violate the analogy of faith.

[25] De Cor. c. 4.

[26] De Virg. Veland.

[27] De Virg. Vel. c. 1: *hoc exigere veritatem, cui nemo præscribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocinia personarum, non privilegium regionum, ex his enim fere consuetudo initium ab aliqua igno-*

must examine and determine what is agreeable to God's will by the assistance of the Holy Spirit[28]. We may indeed account for this difference of sentiment by the different position which Tertullian occupied; and this would tally with the supposition that he had not long become a Montanist when he wrote the *De Corona*. Having severed himself decidedly from the Church, though he maintained her doctrines and professed merely to carry out further her discipline, he found himself at times in collision with that traditionary custom on which he once set so high a value. And his increased confidence in special illumination gave a proportionate preponderance to the authority of private judgment. But in truth Tertullian's habit of pressing his adversary with any weapon at his command, may induce us to attribute much of this difference of views to the difference of the subject which he had in hand; having in the one case to support, in the other to attack, a custom prevalent in the African Church. The argument of the authority of private judgment is employed in the *De Corona*, although with a very different purpose to that in the *De Virginibus Velandis*. So that perhaps the true conclusion is, that Tertullian had not very accurately defined the limits of reason and authority, and appealed in turn to whichever seemed most on his side, but that as by his secession he set himself in one way against authority, he became

rantia vel simplicitate sortita, in usum per successionem corroboratur, et ita adversus veritatem vindicatur. Ibid.: *Hæresim non tam novitas quam veritas revincit.* Ibid.: *Quæ est ergo Paracleti administratio, nisi hæc, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod Scripturæ revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficitur?...Hunc (Christum) qui receperunt, veritatem consuetudini anteponunt.*

[28] De Virg. Vel. c. 16: *Illud itaque sit tibi et Scriptura et natura et disciplina, quod ratum Deo inveneris, sicut juberis omnia examinare, et meliora quæque sectari.*

[29] De Cor. c. 4: *Rationem traditioni et consuetudini et fidei patrocinaturam aut ipse perspicies, aut ab aliquo qui perspexerit disces; interim nonnullam esse credas, cui debeatur obsequium.*

[1] Gelasii Decret. apud Labb.

gradually more disposed to trust to his individual reason, or rather his individual illumination. But he never lost sight of the principle, that we must examine Scripture for ourselves, and confirm our faith in the truths which we receive, whether of doctrine or observance, by a comparison of them with Scripture and with reason, a principle which can alone produce a sound corroboration of faith, and which is no way at variance with the cautious and reverential maxim, First believe that you are bound to obey, and then seek to discover from yourself or others the reason for your obedience[29].

CHAPTER VI.

The value of the Works of Tertullian.

The adhesion of Tertullian to Montanism necessarily threw discredit upon his writings. In the year 492 Pope Gelasius, who made a very diligent enquiry into canonical and apocryphal books, classed the works of Tertullian (*opuscula Tertulliani*) with those of various heretics, not merely disowned but utterly cast forth by the whole Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church[1]. Gelasius' uncompromising condemnation had its effect. All the early Roman Catholic editors thought it necessary to apologize for undertaking the works of such an author. Rhenanus, in his preface, refers to the respect in which Tertullian was held by S. Cyprian and other early writers, and would qualify the censure of Gelasius[2].

Conc. Gen. Vol. IV. p. 1265: *Non solum repudiata verum etiam ab omni Romana catholica et apostolica Ecclesia eliminata, atque cum suis auctoribus, auctorumque sequacibus sub anathematis indissolubili vinculo in æternum confitemur esse damnata.*

[2] 'Siquidem in notissimo illo Gelasii Pontificis decreto, cujus initium Sancta Romana Ecclesia, Tertulliani libellis primariam auctoritatem adimit Pontificia censura. Non quod vetet illos legi sed quod nolit illos publice legi in templis, propter nimiam auctoris vetustatem, aliter nonnunquam vel loquentis, vel quorundam veterum dogmata secuti, quæ postea testimoniis sacrarum literarum convicta sunt et ita damnata.' Rhen. Præf. The words of

To prevent error, he adds *Definitiones ecclesiasticorum dogmatum.* Pamelius prefixes a list of Paradoxes of Tertullian, with the Antidotes of Pamelius. And Rigalt, in his preface, endeavours to shew that the Montanism of Tertullian was of a very moderate tone, and expresses his unwillingness to sanction any heterodox opinions in terms which have been thought rather politic than sincere[3].

I have not attempted to define very accurately Tertullian's opinions, or to distinguish what are and what are not Montanistic. The value of his writings consists not so much in his special opinions, as in the light which his works throw upon the history of the early Church. His acknowledged unsoundness in some particulars will of itself warn us to use a caution which is scarcely less necessary in the study of writers more strictly orthodox. For we should in all cases consider the position of the Fathers as witnesses and as men. Both their testimony and their opinions are affected by the age in which they lived. The value of the former is manifestly enhanced by proximity to apostolic times. Their opinions derive some weight from the same cause. But in judging of them we must make the proper allowances for the character of the individual and of his age. Disregard to this consideration has led some to estimate the Fathers by modern notions and modern habits of thought, and to ridicule the outward peculiarities of those whose intrinsic excellence they do not understand. It has led others to attach to their writings an authority which they themselves never dreamt of claiming, and to view their works as a series of separate maxims and propositions to be collected into a code, all but infallible, and applicable, without modification, throughout all genera-

the decree, however, quoted in the former note do not admit of this mild interpretation.

[3] Dupin and other Romanist editors complain of the looseness of Rigalt's opinions on many points.

tions of mankind. Ecclesiastical history is concerned to ascertain the facts and the doctrines of primitive Christianity; but this is not all. If we would understand how the kingdom of heaven grew from a little seed to a mighty tree, and gradually gained an empire over the hearts of men, we must study the condition of the world during its growth, and the development of thought in various directions within the Church itself. The careful study of an ancient author informs us not only of the truths held of old, but of the manner in which they were apprehended. In each of these respects, Tertullian is most valuable. His vigorous individuality, gives us to see what a primitive Christian was, and how he was impressed with Christian truths. His varied learning in subjects whether sacred or profane, renders his works a rich repository of all that concerns the manners and customs of his age. Most interesting information is supplied by him as to ancient rites, and ancient liturgical forms; while his very errors render his testimony to doctrinal truths, of which there was no question, the more free from suspicion. Above all his intimate acquaintance with and constant reference to the holy Scriptures, give to his words a peculiar value. In him we have an author who flourished not more than 100 years after the death of the apostle S. John, bearing testimony direct and incidental to almost every book in the Scriptural Canon, proving that these Scriptures, and no others, were regarded in that early age as the voice of the Holy Spirit[4], as the rule of life, of whose authority was no doubt[5], whose decision was without appeal, by the study of which men were to understand and believe[6].

[4] Apolog. c. 18. [5] Apolog. c. 19. [6] Apolog. c. 18.

TERTULLIANI LIBER

DE SPECTACULIS.

ERRATUM.

Page 81, line 3, *for* me quoque, *read* me neque.

TERTULLIANI LIBER[1]

DE SPECTACULIS.

CAP. I.

Learn your obligations to abstain from shows, and be not deceived by the false reasonings of the Gentiles. It is not only your wisdom, but also your duty to abstain.

QUI status fidei, quæ ratio veritatis, quod præscriptum disciplinæ inter cetera sæcularium errorum etiam spectaculorum voluptates adimat, Dei servi, cognoscite, qui cum maxime ad Deum acceditis, recognoscite, qui jam accessisse vos testificati et confessi estis[2], ne aut ignorando aut dissimulando quis peccet. Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut ignorantiam protelet in occasionem et conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem[3]. Ad utrumque adhuc forsan alicui opiniones ethnicorum blandiantur, qui in ista causa adversus nos ita

[1] This book was in some ancient MSS. divided into two, the first containing the first eleven chapters as they now stand. The second part is probably the same as the treatise incorrectly designated, in an old catalogue of the library at Corbey edited by Mai, as *De Munere*, because the twelfth chapter commences with that subject. The catalogue mentions a MS. containing *Tertullianus De Resurrectione Carnis, De Trinitate, De Spectaculis, De Munere, &c.* Rhenanus in his edition of 1528 says, that he in vain expected from Trèves *Spectaculorum libros*, and Barthius in a note on Stat. Theb. IX. 169, says that he had once read in a life of Ulric Fabricius, a counsellor and Spanish legate of the Elector of Trèves, that there had been in his hands *duos Tertulliani libros De Spectaculis.*

Ch. I. [2] *qui cum maxime*, Catechumens; *qui jam accessisse*... the baptized. Comp. De Idol. c. 24: *hæc accedentibus ad fidem proponenda et ingredientibus in fidem inculcanda est.*

[3] *tanta est vis voluptatum*... 'such is the force of pleasure that it impels ignorance to take occasion to sin, and bribes conviction to shut its eyes to guilt.' Comp. De Idol. c. 2: *quoniam multifariam servos Dei, nec tantum ignorata sed etiam dissimulata subvertit.*

CAP. I. argumentari[4] censuerunt: Nihil obstrepere religioni in animo et conscientia tua tanta solatia extrinsecus oculorum vel aurium, nec vero Deum offendi oblectatione hominis, qua salvo erga Deum metu et honore suo in tempore et suo in loco frui scelus non sit. At quin hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare, quemadmodum ista non competant veræ religioni et vero obsequio erga verum Deum. Sunt qui existiment Christianos, expeditum morti genus, ad hanc obstinationem[5] abdicatione voluptatum erudiri, quo facilius vitam contemnant, amputatis quasi retinaculis ejus, nec desiderent quam jam supervacuam sibi fecerint, ut hoc consilio potius et humano prospectu, non divino præscripto definitum existimentur. Pigebat scilicet etiam perseverantes in tantis voluptatibus propter Deum mori[6]. Quamquam etsi ita esset, tam apto consilio tantæ obstinatio disciplinæ[7] debebat obsequium.

CAP. II. Jam vero nemo est, qui non hoc quoque præ-

[4] *argumentari.* Two Gentile objections; 1, that the pleasures of the eye or ear need not interfere with the religion of the heart; 2, that the abstinence is only prudential, lest life become too pleasant to abandon.

[5] *ad hanc obstinationem.* Rig. quotes from Arrian: *ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναταί τις οὕτως διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι*; a proverb, *Θᾶσσον ἂν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωυσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειεν*; and an answer of Apollo to a question put by Porphyry how to reclaim his wife from Christianity, *facilius ipsum literas impressurum flumini rapidissimo aut per aera volaturum.* Comp. Plin. Ep. x. 101: *neque enim dubitabam qualecunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.*

[6] *Pigebat scilicet.* 'Quasi vero non multi pro deo passi sint qui his tantis voluptatibus minime abstinuerunt.' Oehl. More probably *pigebat* is used as the imperfect in Greek, (*ἦν* for *ἤμελλεν ἔσεσθαι*). 'I suppose that continuance in pleasures so great as these, were enough to make men slow to die for God.'

[7] *tantæ obstinatio disciplinæ*, 'the resolution belonging to so grave a

CAP. II.

The misuse of God's works does not shew their proper purpose; for the devil has corrupted what God made good. Gen. i. 31.

tendat, omnia a Deo instituta et homini attributa, sicut prædicamus, et utique bona omnia, ut boni auctoris: inter hæc deputari universa ista, ex quibus spectacula instruuntur, Circum[1] verbi gratia et leonem et vires corporis et vocis suavitates: igitur neque alienum videri posse neque inimicum Deo quod de conditione constet ipsius, neque cultoribus Dei putandum[2] quod Dei non sit inimicum, quia nec alienum. Plane et ipsæ exstructiones[3] locorum, quod saxa, quod cæmenta, quod marmora, quod columnæ, Dei res sunt, qui ea ad instrumenta terræ dedit, sed et ipsi actus sub cœlo Dei transiguntur. Quam sapiens argumentatrix sibi videtur ignorantia humana! præsertim cum aliquid ejusmodi de gaudiis et de fructibus sæculi metuit amittere. Plures denique invenias, quos magis periculum voluptatis, quam vitæ, avocet ab hac secta. Nam mortem etiam stultus ut debitam non extimescit, voluptatem etiam sapiens ut tantam non contemnit, cum alia non sit et stulto Eccles. iii. 22.

rule of life.' Some take *consilio* to be the abl. and *disciplinæ* the dat. case; some both to be datives. The position of *obstinatio* inclines me to consider *disciplinæ* as the gen. *Disciplina*, 'the Christian rule of life.' Apolog. c. 45, *nec plenæ nec ideo timendæ estis disciplinæ ad innocentiæ veritatem.* 'At all events the resolution necessary for so strict a rule of life should fall in with (and strengthen itself by) a plan so suitable and prudent.'

Ch. II. [1] *circum.* Cod. Ag. *ins ....quum.* Gangn. *instruuntur. Cum.* The rest *circum.* Rig. reads *instruuntur. Equum.*

[2] *putandum.* Cod. Ag. *cul...... deputandum.* Pam. *vitandum.* Rig. from conjecture, *culpæ deputandum,* and Oehl. *cultoribus Dei deputandum.* The reading in the text is that of Gangnæus, 'and that the worshippers of God ought not to consider as odious what is not odious to God because it is not foreign to Him.' The same argument is examined in De Cult. Fœm. I. 8.

[3] *exstructiones,* the buildings of theatres and the like. *et ipsi actus.* 'It is God's heaven under which the very performances take place.'

CAP. II. et sapienti vitæ gratia, nisi voluptas[4]. Nemo negat, quia nemo ignorat quod ultro natura suggerit, Deum esse universitatis conditorem, eamque universitatem tam bonam, quam homini mancipatam. Sed quia non penitus Deum norunt[5], nisi naturali jure non etiam familiari, de longinquo non de proximo, necesse est ignorent, qualiter administrari aut jubeat aut prohibeat quæ instituit, simul quis sit æmulus[6] ex diverso adulterandis usibus divinæ conditionis, quia neque voluntatem neque adversarium noveris ejus, quem minus noveris. Non ergo hoc solum respiciendum est, a quo omnia sint instituta, sed a quo conversa. Ita enim apparebit, cujus vi sint instituta, si appareat, cujus non sint[7]. Multum interest inter corruptelam et integritatem, quia multum est inter institutorem et interpolatorem. Ceterum omnes species malorum, quæ etiam ethnici ut indubitata et prohibent et defen-

[4] *nam mortem...* 'Death is too inevitable for even the fool to fear excessively, pleasure too powerful for even the wise to disregard; for it is pleasure that makes life sweet whether to the wise man or the fool.' Oehl. from conjecture reads *datam* for *tantam*.

[5] *norunt.* The knowledge of God among the heathen is contrasted with that among Christians. See below, *nos igitur qui Domino cognito.* The heathen know God only by natural right, as men, not by special right, as of God's household, (*naturali jure non etiam familiari*) they know Him afar off, not nigh.

[6] *quis sit æmulus.* Cod. Ag. *simul......mula.* Gang. *quæ sit æmula.* Pam. *quis sit æmulus.* Ursinus, and Oehl. *quæ vis sit æmula;* Rig. *quæ vis æmula.* Comp. De Coron. ch. 6: *qua Dei æmulus universam conditionem certis usibus homini mancipatam cum ipso homine corrupit. Conditio* and *condere* for *creatura* and *creare.* De Cult. Fœm. I. 8: *Dei conditio est et tus et merum.*

[7] *non ergo...cujus non sint.* The text follows Gangn. and Pamel., except that they read *quo omnia* instead of *a quo omnia.* Cod. Ag. is here illegible. Rig. (followed by Oehl.) from conjecture reads *cui usui sint instituta, si appareat, cui non.* Dodgson translates this, 'we must not only consider by whom all things were made, but from what they are turned away—for so will it be seen to what use they were, if it

dunt[8], ex operibus Dei constant. Vis homicidium ferro, veneno, magicis devinctionibus[9] perfici? Tam ferrum Dei res est, quam herbæ, quam angeli. Numquid tamen in hominis necem auctor ista providit? Atquin omnem homicidii speciem uno et principali præcepto interimit: Non occides. Proinde[10] aurum, æs, argentum, ebur, lignum, et quæcunque fabricandis idolis materia captatur, quis in sæculo posuit, nisi sæculi auctor Deus? Numquid tamen ut hæc adversus ipsum adorentur? Atquin summa offensa penes illum idololatria est. Quid non Dei est quod Deum offendit? sed cum offendit, Dei esse desiit, et cum desiit, offendit. Ipse homo, omnium flagitiorum auctor, non tantum opus Dei, verum etiam imago est, et tamen et corpore et spiritu descivit a suo institutore. Neque enim oculos ad concupiscentiam sumpsimus et linguam ad maliloquium et aures ad exceptaculum

CAP. II.

Exod. xx. 13.

Gen. i. 27.

be seen to what use they were not made.' But *a quo conversa* must mean 'by whom they have been changed;' the first sentence referring to *institutorem et interpolatorem*, the second to *corruptelam et integritatem*. The ancient reading gives a sufficiently clear sense. 'We must consider not only by whom all things have been made, but also by whom they have been perverted. For then will it be clear by whose power they have been made, when it is clear by whose power they have not been made.' Comp. De Cult. Fœm. I. 8: *quia æmuli sint necesse est, quæ Dei non sunt.*

[8] *et prohibent et defendunt*, 'both prohibit (by law) and defend (by argument).' Dodgson translates *defendunt*, 'guard against.' The antithesis seems more in Tertullian's manner.

[9] *devinctionibus.* 'Colvius Ad Apul. Met. I. 6, correxerat *magicis devotionibus* quod improbavit jam Oudendorpius. Devinctiones magicæ sunt, καταδέσεις, καταδεσμοί. Vide de his interpretes ad Virg. Ecl. VIII. 77.' Oehl.

[10] *proinde* for *perinde*. Below, c. 7, *proinde apparatus;* c. 27, *proinde habe ac si;* De Idol. c. 1, *proinde disposita;* De Cor. c. 12, *proinde miles ac servus;* Apolog. c. 13, *ædes proinde, aras proinde;* De Cor. c. 10, *proinde uti ea re, atque si;* De Cult. Fœm. II. 9, *proinde vobis curanda est.* In the two last places Cod. Ag. has *perinde.*

CAP. II. maliloquii et gulam ad gulæ[11] crimen et ventrem ad gulæ societatem et genitalia ad excessus impudicitiæ et manus ad vim et gressus ad vagam vitam, aut spiritus ideo insitus corpori, ut insidiarum, ut fraudum, ut iniquitatum cogitatorium fieret? Non opinor. Nam si omnem malignitatem et si tantam malitiam[12] excogitatam Deus exactor innocentiæ odit, indubitate, quæcunque condidit, non in exitum operum constat condidisse quæ damnat, licet eadem opera per ea, quæ condidit, administrentur; quando hæc sit tota ratio damnationis, perversa administratio conditionis a conditis. Nos igitur qui Domino cognito etiam æmulum ejus inspicimus, qui institutore comperto et interpolatorem una deprehendimus, neque mirari neque dubitare oportet,

[11] *gulæ crimen. gula* for *gulositas.* De Jejun. c. 17: *Appendices quidem gulæ, lascivia atque luxuria est.*

[12] *tantam malitiam.* Oehl. considers *malignitas* and *malitia* as the qualities which those ascribe to God, who consider Him to have created man with such a design. La Cerda adopts Ursinus' conjecture, *tantum,* explaining it: 'Posset objici, visa tanta rerum perversitate in usibus, Deum ipsa mundi creatione solum fecisse res, ut illæ malum exitum haberent. Diluit. Ne hoc puta. Nam et Deus, ut vere est, tantum *odit* malignitatem in usibus et malitiam, perinde *indubitate constat* non *condidisse* illum res *in exitum* malorum operum, *quæ* ipse *damnat.*' Dodgson reads *tantum,* and translates, 'If God that requireth innocency, hateth all wickedness and malice, when only conceived in the thoughts.' But the position of *tantum,* and the force of *excogitatam,* 'thought out,' scarcely admit of this; *malignitas* and *malitia excogitata* refer to *insidiarum, fraudum,* and *iniquitatum.* 'God hates all these offsprings of the thought, and cannot therefore have created man's faculty in order to find an issue in thoughts and deeds which He condemns.'

[13] *demutatam.* Ursin. from conjecture reads *quin universam substantiam...demutarit.* Oehl. follows Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Rig. in reading *demutavit,* but has only a comma after *oportet.* Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. insert *pariter cum ipso integritati institutam* after *substantiam ejus.* The text follows Gel. and Pam.: 'We ought not to wonder or doubt, seeing that man himself, the image and work of God, the lord of the whole universe, has been

cum ipsum hominem, opus et imaginem Dei, totius universitatis possessorem, illa vis interpolatoris et æmulatoris angeli ab initio de integritate dejecerit, universam substantiam ejus, pariter cum ipso in perversitatem demutatam[13] adversus institutorem, ut, quam doluerat[14] homini concessam, non sibi, in ea ipsa et hominem reum Deo faceret, et suam dominationem collocaret.

CAP. II.

Ps. viii. 6.

CAP. III.

For those Christians, who ask for Scriptural authority, there is an implicit prohibition in the first Psalm.

Hac conscientia[1] instructi adversus opinionem ethnicorum convertamur magis ad nostrorum detractatus[2]. Quorundam enim fides aut simplicior aut scrupulosior ad hanc abdicationem spectaculorum de Scripturis auctoritatem[3] exposcit et se in incertum constituit, quod non significanter neque nominatim denuntietur servis Dei abstinentia ejus-

from the beginning cast down from his purity by the power of the opposing and envious angel, that man's whole substance was equally with himself perverted to opposition against his Maker.'

[14] *quam doluerat*, sc. *imaginem Dei*. S. Cypr. De Zelo, p. 256 (Ed. Bened.): *Ille angelica majestate subnixus, ille Deo acceptus et verus, postquam hominem ad imaginem Dei factum conspexit, in zelum malivolo livore prorupit, non prius alterum dejiciens instinctu zeli, quam ipse zelo ante dejectus, captivus antequam captus, perditus antequam perdens, dum, stimulante livore, homini gratiam datæ immortalitatis eripit, ipse quoque id, quod prius fuerat, amisit.*

Ch. III. [1] *Hac conscientia*, 'furnished with this intimate knowledge,' referring to *Nos igitur qui Domino cognito*. *Conscientia* is opposed to *opiniones*. Comp. Apolog. c. 1: *Tunc enim meretur cum cognoscitur an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii justitia defenditur, quæ non de eventu sed de conscientia probanda est? Conscientia* is 'a full and certain knowledge,' 'a conviction arising not from outward proof, but from inward assurance.'

[2] *detractatus*, not found elsewhere. Rig. from Ursin. reads *retractatus*, as below, c. 11. Ad Uxor. II. c. 2, *detractata et exerta sententia est*, where however Cod. Ag. has *districta*. Most think *detractatus* here to be put for *tractatus*. Oehler explains it by *detractationes, tergiversationes*, as referring to certain Christians drawing back from their strict rule.

[3] *de Scripturis auctoritatem*. S. Cypr. De Spectac. p. 339: *Ubi scripta sunt ista? ubi prohibita?* See below, c. 23, and De Cor. c. 2.

CAP. III. modi. Plane nusquam invenimus, quemadmodum
Exod. xx. 14, sqq. aperte positum est: Non occides, Non idolum coles, Non adulterium, non fraudem admittes, ita exserte definitum: Non in Circum ibis, non in theatrum; agonem, munus non spectabis. Sed invenimus ad hanc quoque speciem pertinere illam
Ps. i. 1. primam vocem David, Felix vir, inquit, qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestium[4] non sedit. Nam
Luc. xxiii. 50. etsi justum illum[5] videtur prædicasse, quod in concilio et consessu Judæorum de negando[6] Domino consultantium non communicavit, late tamen semper Scriptura divina dividitur, ubicumque secundum præsentis rei sensum etiam disciplina munitur[7], ut hic quoque non sit aliena vox a spectaculum inter-

[4] *in cathedra pestium.* Clem. Alex. Pæd. Lib. III. quoted by Leprieur: *οὐ δὲ ἀπεικότως τὰ στάδια καὶ τὰ θέατρα καθέδραν λοιμιῶν προσείποι τις ἄν.*

[5] *justum illum.* Joseph of Arimathea. Rigalt quotes from Comm. in Psal.: *Tertullianus in libro de Spectaculis asserit hunc Psalmum et de Josepho posse intelligi, qui corpus Domini sepelivit, et de his qui ad spectacula Gentium non conveniunt.*

[6] *negando.* Rig. conjectures *necando.* The MSS. have *negando* and *denegando.* The murder of our Lord was the final denial of Him.

[7] *late tamen semper...* 'Scripture has however always an extended application, wherever in accordance with the meaning belonging to a particular occasion the Christian rule is at the same time supported.' *secundum,* 'following along with;' in Apolog. c. 46, 'next after,' *secundum Deos dæmonas deputent.* Comp. Adv. Valent. c. 1, *ex divinæ copiæ occasione;* De Præscr. c. 39, *Et utique fœcundior divina literatura ad facultatem cujuscumque materiæ.*

[8] *et in via statur.* The populace stood in the gangways and in the passages of the amphitheatre. Lips. de Amphith. p. 54 (Lug. Bat. 1584) quotes an amusing epigram in which Martial tells us of one Manneius, who thrust himself into the seats of the knights, and being detected took his position in the gangway, half sitting and half standing. Mart. Epig. v. 14: *Et hinc miser dejectus in viam transit, Subsellioque semifultus extremo, Et male receptus altero genu, jactat Equiti sedere, Lectioque se stare.*

[9] *cardines balteorum.* The seats of the Roman amphitheatre were in stages: 1 *podium,* a platform for the senators; 2 *equestria,* for the knights; 3 *popularia,* for the

dictione. Si enim pauculos tunc Judæos impiorum concilium vocavit, quanto magis tantum conventum ethnici populi? Minus impii ethnici, minus peccatores, minus hostes Christi, quam tunc Judæi? Quid quod et cetera congruunt? Nam apud spectacula et in via statur[8]. Vias enim et cardines vocant balteorum per ambitum[9] et discrimina popularium per proclivum[10]. Cathedra quoque nominatur ipse in anfractu ad consessum situs[11]. Itaque contrario infelix qui in quodcumque concilium impiorum abierit et in quacumque via peccatorum steterit et in quacumque cathedra pestium sederit. Generaliter dictum intelligamus, cum quid etiam specialiter interpretari capit. Nam et specialiter quædam pronuntiata generaliter sapiunt. Cum

CAP. III.

people. At the back of each stage the wall rose in a high step forming a kind of belt (*præcinctio* or *balteus*) round the amphitheatre. Above the *balteus* was a platform of a few feet, from which the seats of the next higher stage rose, (*præcinctionis itinera*). Lipsius, De Amph. p. 52, quotes Vitruv. III. 2: *Præcinctiones ad altitudines theatrorum pro rata parte faciendæ videntur; neque altiores quam quanta præcinctionis itineris sit latitudo.* Pliny, N.H. XVIII. 76 (Lips. 1787) tells us that if a line be drawn from N. to S. across a field, *qui ita limes per agrum currit, cardo vocatur.* Hence probably *cardo* was used for a principal line of division. Tert. calls the *præcinctionis itinera* of Vitruvius *cardines balteorum per ambitum*, the main dividing lines or limits of the *baltei* running round the amphitheatre.

[10] *discrimina popularium per proclivum*, the gangways down the amphitheatre dividing the seats into *cunei*. *Popularia* seems here to include all but the *podium*: properly they were the seats of the populace distinguished from those of the senators and knights, as in Suet. Domit. c. 4. The appropriation of particular seats to the knights in the *theatre* was first made by Roscius Otho; to the senators and knights in the *amphitheatre*, by Augustus; in the *circus*, to the senators by Claudius, to the knights by Nero.

[11] *ipse in anfractu ad consessum locus.* The portico running round the amphitheatre at the back of the rows of benches was the place where the women brought their seats (*cathedras*), and sat apart. Here too those who were in mourning sat. Lips. De Amph. p. 59, quotes Calpurn., *Venimus ad sedes, ubi pulla sordida veste Inter fœmineas spectabat turba cathedras*, and refers to Sueton. August. c. 44.

CAP. III.

Exod. xii.

Es. xiv.

Deus Israelitas admonet disciplinæ vel objurgat, utique ad omnes habet[12]; cum Ægypto et Æthiopiæ exitium comminatur, utique in omnem gentem peccatricem præjudicat. Si omnis gens peccatrix est Ægyptus et Æthiopia, a specie ad genus, quemadmodum etiam de origine spectaculorum omne spectaculum concilium impiorum, a genere ad speciem.

CAP. IV.

Our baptismal vow renounces idolatry. I will prove that shows are idolatrous, in origin, title, equipment, place, and arts.

Ne quis argumentari nos putet, ad principalem auctoritatem convertar ipsius signaculi nostri. Cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suæ verba profitemur, renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur. Quid erit summum ac præcipuum, in quo diabolus et pompæ et angeli ejus censeantur, quam idololatria? ex qua omnis immundus et nequam spiritus, ut ita dixerim[1], quia nec diutius de hoc. Igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate præjudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renuntiationis nostræ[2] testimonium in lavacro, quæ diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus sint mancipata, scilicet per idololatriam. Commemorabimus origines singulorum, quibus in cuna-

[12] *ad omnes habet.* 'Suppleo *admonitionem disciplinæ vel objurgationem.* Junius *pronuntiata.*' Oehl.

Ch. IV. [1] *ut ita dixerim.* De Virg. Vel. c. 2, *semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus.* Dodgs., 'from whence (so to speak, for I shall speak no longer on this point,) cometh every wicked and unclean spirit.'

[2] *renuntiationis nostræ.* See below, c. 24; De Idol. c. 18; De Cor. c. 3; Ibid. c. 13; Bingh. Christ. Antiq. XI. 7, 2, who quotes Salvian. De Provid. lib. 6: *Quæ est in baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio? Quæ scilicet nisi ut renuntiare diabolo cum pompis ejus atque spectaculis et operibus protestentur? Ergo spectacula et pompæ, etiam juxta nostram professionem, opera sunt diaboli. Quomodo, O Christiane, spectacula post baptismum sequeris, quæ opus esse diaboli confiteris? Angeli* is used for the messengers of the evil one *passim.* On this Tert. in De Vel. Virg. c. 7, and De

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bulis in sæculo adoleverint, exinde titulos quorundam, quibus nominibus nuncupentur, exinde apparatus, quibus superstitionibus instruantur, tum loca, quibus præsidibus dicentur, tum artes, quibus auctoribus[3] deputentur. Si quid ex his non ad idolum pertinuerit, id neque ad idololatriam neque ad nostram ejerationem pertinebit.

CAP. V.

The origin of public Games is idolatrous.

De originibus quidem, ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum, altius nec aliunde investigandum fuit, quam de instrumentis ethnicalium litterarum. Exstant auctores multi qui super ista re commentarios ediderunt. Ab his ludorum origo sic traditur. Lydos[1] ex Asia transvenas in Etruria consedisse Timæus refert, duce Tyrrheno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione. Igitur in Etruria inter ceteros ritus superstitionum suarum spectacula quoque religionis nomine instituunt. Inde Romani[2] arcessitos artifices mutuantur, tempus, enuntiationem, ut ludi a Lydis vocarentur. Sed etsi Varro ludos a ludo, id est a lusu interpretatur, sicut et Lupercos ludos[3] appellabant, quod ludendo discurrunt, tamen eum lusum juvenum et diebus festis et templis et religionibus reputat. Nihil jam[4]

Orat. c. 22, grounds an interpretation of 1 Cor. xi. 6, διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, *propter angelos*, to denote the rebellious angels supposed to be mentioned in Gen. vi. 1. See De Idol. c. 9, n. 4.

[3] *quibus auctoribus*, 'to what patrons they are assigned,' as the art of music to Apollo, &c.

Ch. V. [1] *Lydos*, Herod. I. 94. Cic. De Orat. II. 14, *Timæus longe eruditissimus*.

[2] *Inde Romani*. Liv. VII. 2.

[3] *ludos*. Oehl. reads *ludios;* but all the MSS. have *ludos*, which Salmasius interprets as put for *ludios*, as *servitium* for *servi*, *ministerium* for *ministri*, and the like. More probably *Lupercos ludos* is for *Lupercales ludos*, and *juvenes*, or some such nominative, is to be understood before *discurrant*. On the Lupercalia, see Liv. I. 5; Ovid. Fast. II. 279, sqq.

[4] *nihil jam...*, 'no matter now

CAP. V. de causa vocabuli, dum rei causa idololatria sit. Nam et cum promiscue[5] ludi Liberalia vocarentur, honorem Liberi patris manifeste sonabant. Libero enim a rusticis primo fiebant ob beneficium quod ei ascribunt, demonstrata gratia vini. Exinde ludi Consualia dicti qui initio Neptunum honorabant. Eundem enim et Consum[6] vocant. Dehinc Equiria[7] Marti Romulus dixit, quamquam et Consualia Romulo defendunt[8], quod ea Conso dicaverit Deo, ut volunt, consilii, ejus scilicet, quo tunc Sabinarum virginum rapinam militibus suis in matrimonia excogitavit. Probum plane consilium[9] et nunc quoque inter ipsos Romanos justum et licitum, ne dixerim, penes Deum. Facit enim et hoc ad originis maculam, ne bonum existimes quod initium a malo accepit, ab impudentia violentiæ, ab alio deo[10], a fratricida institutore, a filio Martis. Et nunc ara Conso illi in Circo defossa est ad primas metas sub terra, cum inscriptione hujusmodi: CONSUS CONSILIO MARS DUELLO LARES COILLO[11] POTENTES. Sacrificant

for the origin of the term, so long as the origin of the thing is idolatry.' If the Lupercalia were called *games* on account of the sports, the sports being consecrated to religious service proves my point.

[5] *promiscue*. La Cerda notes the mistake of those who conceive Tertullian to say that the name *Liberalia* was given indifferently to all games. Dodgson falls into this error. The argument is this. Tertullian wishes to shew that the origin of the games is idolatrous, whatever be the origin of the term 'games.' For, says he, the Liberalia, even when called by the common appellation of 'games,' clearly sounded the honor of Liber. For they were first established for his praise. Then came games called Consualia, and these were from the first in honor of Neptune. Next Romulus established the Equiria in honor of Mars.

[6] *Consum*, Liv. I. 9.

[7] *Equiria*. Equestrian games, celebrated in the Campus Martius. Ov. Fast. II. 859.

[8] *defendunt*, 'they claim the Consualia too for Romulus.' See below, c. 8, n. 11.

[9] *probum plane*. Ironical. 'An

apud eam Nonis Juliis sacerdotes publici, XII. Kalend. Septembres flamen Quirinalis et Virgines. Dehinc idem Romulus Jovi Feretrio ludos instituit in Tarpeio, quos Tarpeios dictos et Capitolinos Piso[12] tradidit. Post hunc Numa Pompilius Marti et Robigini fecit (nam et robiginis deam[13] finxerunt), dehinc Tullus Hostilius, dehinc Ancus Martius et ceteri quoque per ordinem. Et quibus idolis ludos instituerint, positum est apud Suetonium Tranquillum, vel a quibus Tranquillus accepit. Sed hæc satis erunt ad originis de idololatria reatum. CAP. V.

CAP. VI.

The titles of Games, whether national or funereal, are idolatrous.

Accedit ad testimonium antiquitatis subsecuta posteritas, formam originis de titulis hujus quoque temporis præferens, per quos signatum est, cui idolo et cui superstitioni utriusque generis[1] ludi notarentur. Megalenses enim et Apollinares, idem Cereales et Neptunales et Latiares et Florales in commune celebrantur; reliqui ludorum de natalibus et solemnitatibus regum et publicis prosperitatibus et municipalibus festis superstitionis causas originis

excellent device, forsooth, and one which is right and lawful among the Romans themselves, not to say before God!'

[10] *ab impudentia...deo.* I retain the ancient reading. Oehl. follows Rigalt, who adopted a correction of Ursinus, *ab impudentia, a violentia, ab odio.* Cod. Ag. reads *ab impudentia a violentiæ,* where the insertion of *a* was probably an oversight. *Alio deo,* i. e. other than Consus, another so-styled god.

[11] *Coillo.* Cod. Ag. *Coillo.* Gang. *Cum illo.* Gel. and Pam. *Comitio.* The last is probably only a conjecture, and as the Lares had nothing to do with the Comitium, not a very happy one. Rigalt conceives *coillum* to be *domus penetrale,* from *κοῖλον,* and that from *coillum* came *inquilinus* or *incoillinus.* Salmas. conjectures *colio; colium* from *colo.* The reading is doubtful, and no explanation satisfactory.

[12] *Piso.* Arnob. III. p. 122 (Lug. Bat. 1651); Lact. D. I. 1. 6.

[13] *robiginis deam.* Ov. Fast. IV. 907.

Ch. VI. [1] *utriusque generis,* of the circus and of the theatre. See below c. 7, and c. 10.

CAP. VI. habent. Inter quos etiam privatorum memoriis legatariæ editiones[2] parentant, id quoque secundum institutionis antiquitatem. Nam et a primordio bifariam ludi censebantur, sacri et funebres, id est deis nationum et mortuis. Sed de idololatria nihil differt apud nos, sub quo nomine et titulo, dum ad eosdem spiritus perveniat, quibus renuntiamus, licet mortuis, licet diis suis faciant. Proinde mortuis suis ut diis faciant[3], una conditio partis utriusque est, una idololatria, una renuntiatio nostra adversus idololatriam.

CAP. VII. The equipments of the Games are idolatrous, especially of the Circensian.

Communis igitur origo ludorum utriusque generis, communes et tituli, ut de communibus causis. Proinde apparatus communes habeant necesse est de reatu generali idololatriæ conditricis suæ. Sed

[2] *legatariæ editiones*, the celebration of funeral games according to a testamentary disposition. See Lips. Saturn. I. c. 7. Lips. quotes Senec. De Brev. Vit.: *Quidam disponunt etiam illa, quæ ultra vitam sunt, moles magnas sepulcrorum et operum publicorum dedicationes et ad rogum munera et ambitiosas exsequias.* Comp. Hor. Sat. II. 3, 85, and Pers. VI. 42.

[3] *licet...faciant.* This is the reading of Gangn., Gelen. and Pamel. The reading of the Cod. Ag. is in the main followed by Rig. and Oehl. but with different emendations. The reading of the text gives a clear sense, and is less conjectural. For the use of the subj. in the protasis, compare De Idol. c. 2, *discedant, remaneat...sufficit.* ibid. c. 11, *Sit nunc ...opinor.* ibid. c. 16, *Sim vocatus.* —So the imp. is used De Idol. c. 1, *operas recognosce, idololatres homicida est.* ibid. c. 14, *excerpe singulas sollemnitates...non poterunt.* On *mortuis* see De Idol. c. 9, n. 7.

Ch. VII. [1] *pompa.* Ovid. Fast. IV. 391: *Circus erat pompa celeber, numeroque Deorum.* The *pompa Circensis* was a procession of those who were about to take part in the Games. It started from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, went round the Forum through the Velabrum to the Circus Maximus. The order was as follows: 1 the chief magistrates; 2 noble youths; 3 chariots and athletes; 4 saltatio armata; 5 saltatio satyrica; 6 tubicines and tibicines; 7 ministri sacrorum majorum; 8 ministri sacrorum minorum; 9 images of the gods or of the emperors on tensæ or fercula; 10 armamaxæ; 11 collegia augurum, &c. On arriving at the Circus sacrifices were offered to the various deities of the spina (see below, c. 8). This procession was

Circensium paulo pompatior suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen pompa[1], præcedens, quorum sit in semetipsa probans[2] de simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de tensis, de armamaxis[3], de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis[4]. Quanta præterea sacra, quanta sacrificia præcedant, succedant, quot collegia, quot sacerdotia, quot officia moveantur, sciunt homines illius urbis, in qua dæmoniorum conventus[5] consedit. Ea si minore cura per provincias pro minoribus viribus administrantur, tamen omnes utique Circenses illuc deputandi unde et petuntur, inde inquinantur unde sumuntur. Nam et rivulus tenuis de suo fonte et surculus modicus ex sua fronde qualitatem originis continet. Viderit ambitio vel frugalitas ejus, quod[6] Deum offendit: qualiscumque pompa Circi, etsi CAP. VII.

at first peculiar to the Ludi Magni, instituted by A. Postumius after the battle of Regillus. Afterwards it was adopted generally at all Games.

[2] *probans.* Rig. from conjec. *probat.* This is unnecessary. The subst. verb *est* is understood, *paullo pompatior (est) suggestus.*

[3] *de curribus, de tensis, de armamaxis. currus,* the chariots which contended in the race; *tensæ* (from *tendo*), chariots containing images of gods drawn by ropes; *armamaxæ,* large wagons, on which arms were piled up as trophies. Sueton. 76 Jul.: *Ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus et sedem auream in curia, et pro tribunali tensam, et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra juxta Deos.*

[4] *de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis. sedes* or *sellæ* the thrones on which the images were placed; *exuviæ,* the dresses and other trappings of the gods. De Coron. c. 7: *de exuviis utriusque privigni.* Oehler quotes Apul. Met. XI. c. 10: *Sed antistites sacrorum proceres illi...potentissimorum deorum præferebant exuvias.*

[5] *dæmoniorum conventus.* Comp. below, c. 12, *Capitolium omnium dæmonum templum est;* Apolog. c. 6, *Capitolio prohibitos, id est curia deorum pulsos.*

[6] *quod,* 'no matter whether there be display or economy in that which offends God.' On *viderit* see De Cor. c. 2, n. 2. Cod. Ag. *sit.* Gel. and Pamel. *quo.* Barræus *quod.* Rig. *Viderit ambitio sive frugalitas ejus. Deum.* Oehl. from conject. *si.* Oehler does not mention the readings *quo* and *quod,* but says *quos* is the common reading.

CAP. VII. pauca simulacra circumferat, in uno idololatria est; etsi unam tensam trahat, jovis tamen plaustrum est. Quævis idololatria vel modice locuples et splendida est censu criminis sui[7].

CAP. VIII.

The place of Games, the Circus, is idolatrous. We may indeed enter it as passers by, but not as spectators.

Ut et de locis secundum propositum exsequar, Circus[1] soli[2] principaliter consecratur, cujus ædes medio spatio et effigies de fastigio ædis emicat, quod non putaverunt sub tecto consecrandum quem in aperto habent. Quod[3] spectaculum primum a Circe habent, Soli patri suo, ut volunt, editum affirmant. Ab ea et Circi appellationem argumen-

[7] *censu criminis sui.* Dodgs., 'in the amount of its sinfulness.' Oehl. explains *censu* by *origine;* but see De Idol. c. 4, n. 4.

Ch. VIII. [1] On the Circus Maximus, see Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq.

[2] *Soli.* Tac. Annal. xv. 74: *Tum decreta dona et grates Deis decernuntur, propriusque honos Soli, (cui est vetus ædes apud Circum, in quo facinus parabatur) qui multa conjurationum numine retexisset.*

[3] *quod.* Cod. Ag. *qui*, adopted by Rig. and Oehl. The latter by conject. alters *habent* to *atque.* The reading of the text, which is that of the other Edd. is perfectly intelligible without alteration. The verbs *habent* and *affirmant* are used by Tertullian with a general nominative, such as *quidam,* understood. So throughout this chapter, *vovent, sustinent,* &c. and elsewhere.

[4] *ova.* Livy, in a very corrupt passage (xli. 32), says that Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus the censors (A.U.C. 680) caused to be placed *ova ad notas curriculis numerandis.* This passage has been variously amended. At any rate it points to the adoption of *ova* to number the courses. But this is directly opposed to Dion Cassius (Lib. xlix. p. 417 B. [Hanov. 1606]), who says of Agrippa, when Ædile (A.U.C. 721): *κἀν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸν τῶν διαύλων ἄριθμον τούς τε δελφῖνας καὶ τὰ ᾠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο.* Cassiodor. Var. iii. 51: *Nec illud putetur irritum, quod metarum circuitus ovorum erectionibus exprimatur, quando actus ipse, multis superstitionibus gravidus, ovi exemplo geniturum se aliqua profitetur.* See notes in Drakenborch's Livy, l. c. Panvinius draws a distinction between *ova Castorum* surmounting the *metæ*, and *ova curriculorum* on the *spina.* Ancient coins shew *ova* both on the *metæ* and on the *spina.* Is it not possible that *ova* were first erected on the *metæ* in 680, and afterwards on the *spina* in 721?

[5] *delphinos.* Juv. Sat. vi. 589: *Constitit ante phalas, delphinorumque columnas.*

[6] *vovent.* Cod. Ag. and Rig. *Delphinos Neptuno vomunt columnæ. Sessias.* Gangn. *Delphines...vomunt, columnas.* Oehl. reads *delphines...*

tantur. Plane venefica eis utique negotium gessit hoc nomine quorum sacerdos erat, dæmoniis et angelis scilicet. Quot igitur in habitu loci ipsius idololatrias recognoscis? Singula ornamenta Circi singula templa sunt. Ova[4] honori Castorum ascribunt qui illos ovo editos credendo de cygno Jove non erubescunt. Delphinos[5] Neptuno vovent[6]. Columnas Sessias a sementationibus, Messias a messibus, Tutulinas[7] a tutelis fructuum sustinent. Ante has tres aræ trinis deis parent: Magnis, Potentibus, Valentibus[8]. Eosdem Samothracas existimant. CAP.VIII.

vomunt. Columnæ, making *Delphines* the nomin. The reading of the text (that of Gelen. and Pamel.) is preferable to Rigalt's, in which *vomunt columnæ* is very harsh, and has more authority than Oehler's. *Vovent*, 'men dedicate;' *sustinent*, 'men tolerate,' as Apol. c. 15, *sustinetis Jovis elogia cantari*. Perhaps there is some play on the word, as used in connexion with *columnas*.

[7] *Sessias, Messias, Tutulinas.* Plin. N. H. XVIII. 2: *Seiamque a serendo, Segestam a segetibus appellabant, quarum simulacra in Circo videmus.* Macrob. Saturn. I. 16: *apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem, Senoniam, Seiam, Segetiam, Tutilinam ferias observabat.* Comp. Apolog. c. 52; De Idol. c. 15; De Cor. c. 13. Arnob. adv. Gent. III. p. 115: *Unxionibus, inquit, superest Unxia, cingulorum Cinxia replicationi, Victa et Potua sanctissimæ victui potuique procurant. O egregia numinum et singularis interpretatio potestatum! nisi postes virorum adipali unguine oblinerentur a sponsis, nisi virginalia vincula jam furentes dissolverent atque imminentes mariti, nisi potarent et manderent homines, Dii nomina non haberent!* S. Augustin (C. D. IV. 8) enlarges on such deities as *Segetia, Tutilina, Runcina*, &c. Luther (Op. Tom. I. p. 8 [Witteb. 1582]) compares the popular saints with these pagan deities: *Adhuc non pudet nos Christianos ita in sanctos partiri negotia rerum temporalium, ac si essent nunc facti servi et mancipia artificum; ita ut prope redierit ea Lerna superstitionum, ut rursus Romanorum illud chaos deorum et quoddam Pantheon exstruxerimus.* Polytheism always appears in much the same shape. 'The Chinese,' says the Bishop of Victoria, in an account of a late tour, 'have peopled heaven, earth, and sea, and even the elements, with myriads of *Shin*, inferior divinities, the angels, ministers, and subordinate agents of the Supreme Being, *Shang-ta*.' He mentions *Tow-shin*, the god of the small-pox. It is found that the Chinese are too ready, when converted by Romanist missionaries, to adopt saint-worship in the place of Shin-worship.

[8] *Magnis, Potentibus, Valentibus.* 'Macrob. Saturn. III. 4. *Cassius Hemina dicit Samothracas deos eos-*

CAP. VIII. Obelisci enormitas[9], ut Hermateles affirmat, Soli prostituta; scriptura ejus, unde et census, de Ægypto superstitio est. Frigebat dæmonum concilium sine sua Matre Magna; ea itaque illic præsidet euripo[10]. Consus, ut diximus, apud metas sub terra delitescit[11]. Murtias[12] quoque idolum fecit. Murtiam enim deam amoris volunt, cui in illa parte ædem vovere. Animadverte, Christiane, quot nomina immunda possederint Circum. Aliena est tibi religio, quam tot diaboli spiritus occupaverunt. De locis quidem locus est retractandi ad præveniendam quorundam interrogationem. Quid enim, inquis, si alio in tempore Circum adiero? periclitabor de inquinamento? Nulla est præscriptio de locis. Nam non sola ista conciliabula spectaculorum, sed etiam templa ipsa sine periculo disciplinæ adire servus Dei potest urgente causa simplici duntaxat, quæ non pertineat ad proprium ejus loci negotium vel officium. Ceterum et plateæ et forum et balneæ et stabula et ipsæ domus nostræ sine

demque Romanorum Penates dici, Θεοὺς μεγάλους, Θεοὺς χρηστούς, Θεοὺς δυνατούς.' Oehl.

[9] *obelisci enormitas.* An Egyptian obelisk, 125¾ feet high, besides the base, cut out of one stone was placed by Augustus in the Circus Maximus, and dedicated to the sun. Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 14, 5. The Hippodrome of Constantinople too had its obelisk, a very large one also from Egypt.

[10] *Euripo. Euripi* were fosses round the Circus, originally made by Julius Cæsar, to protect the spectators from the wild beasts in the arena. Plin. N. H. VIII. 7. Dodgson considers the *euripus* to be an artificial lake for sea-fights, but it does not appear that there was ever such a lake in the *Circus.* Sueton. Jul. c. 39, mentions such a lake *in minore Codeta*, which was in the Campus Martius; and Dion Cass. quoted by Lipsius (Amph. p. 40) says that Nero exhibited naval fights in the *amphitheatre.* Lipsius quotes in the margin Senec. Ep. 91, *qui euripos subito aquarum impetu implent aut siccent*, which, perhaps, led to the confusion between the *euripi* and the artificial lakes.

idolis omnino non sunt. Totum sæculum Satanas et angeli ejus repleverunt. Non tamen quod in sæculo sumus, a Deo excidimus, sed si quid de sæculi criminibus attigerimus. Proinde si Capitolium, si Serapeum sacrificator et adorator intravero, a Deo excidam, quemadmodum Circum vel spectator. Loca nos non contaminant per se, sed quæ in locis fiunt, a quibus et ipsa loca contaminari altercati sumus. De contaminatis contaminamur. Propterea autem commemoramus quibus ejusmodi loca dicentur, ut eorum demonstremus esse, quæ in his locis fiunt, quibus ipsa loca dicantur.

CAP. VIII.

1 Cor. v. 10.

CAP. IX.

The art of chariot-racing is idolatrous, having gods for its patrons.

Nunc de artificio quo Circenses exhibentur. Res equestris retro simplex de dorso agebatur, et utique communis usus reus non erat. Sed cum ad ludos coactus est, transiit a Dei munere ad dæmoniorum officia. Itaque Castori et Polluci deputatur hæc species, quibus equos a Mercurio distributos Stesichorus docet. Sed et Neptunus equestris est, quem Græci Ἵππιον[1] appellant. De jugo vero

[11] *delitescit.* See above, c. 5. Plutarch. Romul. p. 25, D. (Frankf. 1620): καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς (Κώνσου) ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἱπποδρόμων ἐστὶν ἀφανὴς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀνακαλυπτόμενος.

[12] *Murtias,* sc. *metas,* 'It was an idol that originated the Murtian goal too.' A particular part of the Circus near the goal was called *ad Murtiam,* from *Venus Murtia,* or *Myrtea,* to whom it was sacred. Plin. N. H. xv. 36, *Quin et ara vetus fuit Veneri myrteæ, quam nunc Murtiam;* where Harduin quotes Varro, *Intimus Circus ad Murtiam vocatus...Alii esse dicunt a myrteto derivatam, quod ibi id fuerit, cujus vestigium manet, quod ibi sacellum etiam nunc Murtiæ Veneris.* Comp. Apul. Met. vi. 8, *retro metas Murtias.* Cod. Ag. reads *Murcias,* the rest *Murtias.* Where Gelen. and Pamel. read *amoris,* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. have *marmoris.* This led Rigalt to adopt *Murcias,* and conjecture *marcoris,* quoting S. Aug. C. D. iv. 16, who speaks of *Murcia, dea marcoris.* Rig. also reads *delitescit Murcias. Has quoque;* and is in this followed by Oehl. But it is merely conjectural; the Cod. Ag. here agreeing with the rest.

Ch. IX. [1] *Ἵππιον.* Soph. Œd. Col. 713.

CAP. IX. quadrigas soli, bigas lunæ sanxerunt. Sed et

Virg. Georg. III. 113.

> Primus Erichthonius cursus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere victor.

Erichthonius, Minervæ et Vulcani filius, et quidem de caduca in terram libidine, portentum est dæmonicum, immo diabolus ipse, non coluber. Si vero Trochilus[2] Argivus auctor est currus, primæ Junoni id opus suum dedicavit. Si Romæ Romulus quadrigam primus ostendit, puto et ipse inter idola conscriptus est, si idem est Quirinus. Talibus auctoribus quadrigæ productæ merito et aurigas coloribus idololatriæ vestierunt. Namque initio duo soli[3] fuerunt, albus et russeus. Albus hiemi ob nives candidas, russeus æstati ob solis ruborem voti erant. Sed postea tam voluptate quam superstitione provecta russeum alii Marti, alii album Zephyris consecraverunt, prasinum vero Terræ Matri vel verno, venetum Cœlo et Mari vel autumno.

[2] *Trochilus*. Cod. Ag. *Prophylus*. Gangn. and Gel. *Acrophilus*. Pam., Rig. and Oehl. *Trochilus*. Oehl. say that Jerome ascribed the invention of the chariot both to Erichthonius and to *Trochilus*.

[3] *Namque initio*. Cod. Ag. *Nam æqui initio*. Rig. *Nam equi initio*. Gangn. *Nam initio equi*. Gel. and Pam. *Et ab initio duo soli*. The reading in the text is a conjecture of Salmasius. *Equi* is better omitted; *duo soli* sc. *colores*. These colours were adopted by parties with the utmost vehemence, *factio prasina, factio russea;* and there were in the Circus certain heads of the party, *domini factionis*. See Sueton. Ner. c. 5. Martial, Ep. x. 48, 23, alludes to the danger of professing to favour a party to which the emperor was opposed. *De prasino conviva meus, venetoque loquatur, Nec faciant quenquam pocula nostra reum.* Comp. Plin. Ep. IX. 6: *Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant, etsi in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, et repente agitatores illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquunt.*

CH. X. [1] *infelicitate thuris et sanguinis*, 'the unhappy scene of incense and blood;' alluding to the sacrifices offered in the Circus.

[2] *designatore*. *Designator* was originally the marshal to any proces-

Cum autem omnis species idololatriæ damnata sit a Deo, utique etiam illa damnatur quæ elementis mundialibus profanatur.

CAP. IX.

CAP. X.

Of stage-plays both the place and art are idolatrous.

Transeamus ad scenicas res, quarum et originem communem et titulos pares secundum ipsam ab initio ludorum appellationem et administrationem conjunctam cum re equestri jam ostendimus. Apparatus autem ex ea parte consortes, qua ad scenam a templis et aris ab illa infelicitate thuris et sanguinis[1] inter tibias et tubas itur, duobus inquinatissimis arbitris funerum et sacrorum, designatore[2] et haruspice. Ita cum de originibus ludorum ad Circenses transiimus[3], inde nunc ad scenicos ludos dirigimus[4] a loci vitio. Theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est. Hoc denique modo id genus operis in sæculo evasit. Nam sæpe censores[5] renascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant, moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de

sion; but funeral processions being most common, he became to be considered as especially belonging to funerals. So the *haruspex* was concerned with the offices of the dead. Apol. c. 13: *Nam et haruspex mortuis apparet.*

[3] *transiimus.* This is a conjecture of Junius adopted by Oehler, and previously by La Cerda. The ancient reading is *transimus.* Above c. 9, l. 4. Gangn. and Gelen. read *transit,* where Pamel. from the Cod. Clement. has *transiit.* 'Since from the origins of Games we made a transition to the Circensian, we now direct our course to theatrical shows, starting from the corruptness of the locality.' Tert. had discussed the *origins* and *titles* of Games both of the Circus and Theatre, (c. 5, 6). When he came to *equipment,* he was led especially to the Circus, and confined himself entirely to the Circus in the question of *place* and *art.* He now therefore, after again briefly touching on the *equipment,* considers the *place* and *art* of theatrical shows.

[4] *dirigimus.* De Jejun. c. 11: *Propterea per singulas direximus jejunationum species. A loci vitio* is in all the MSS. Rig. from conjecture, *a loci initio;* and Oehler, *a loci. Initio.*

[5] *censores.* Apol. c. 6, *quæ theatra stuprandis moribus orientia statim* (censores) *destruebant?* where Oehl. refers to passages mentioning such destruction.

CAP. X. lascivia providebant, ut jam hinc ethnicis in testimonium cedat sententia ipsorum nobiscum faciens et nobis in exaggerationem disciplinæ etiam humanæ prærogativa[6]. Itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor, cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum exstruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriæ suæ censoriam animadversionem[7], Veneris ædem superposuit[8], et ad dedicationem edicto populum vocans, non theatrum sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, Cui subjecimus, inquit gradus spectaculorum. Ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo prætexit et disciplinam superstitione delusit. Sed Veneri et Libero convenit. Duo ista dæmonia conspirata et conjurata inter se sunt ebrietatis et libidinis. Itaque theatrum Veneris Liberi quoque domus est. Nam et alios ludos scenicos Liberalia proprie vocabant, præterquam Libero devotos (quod sunt Dionysia penes Græcos) etiam a Libero insti-

[6] *ut jam hinc...* 'So that from hence the Gentiles are furnished with testimony from the opinion of men of their own siding with us, and we with an argument for increased strictness by the precedent of mere human regulation.'

[7] *animadversionem.* Oehl. quotes Tac. Ann. XIV. 20: *Quippe erant qui Cneium quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset.*

[8] *superposuit.* Oehler quotes Sueton. Claud. c. 21: *Ludos dedicationis theatri Pompeiani, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores ædes supplicasset, perque mediam caveam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset.*

[9] *corporis fluxu.* S. Cypr. De Spect. p. 340, *Homo fractus omnibus membris et in ultra muliebrem mollitiem dissolutus.* Arnob. VI. p. 197, *Liber membris cum mollibus et liquoris fœminei dissolutissimus laxitate.* Prudent. Hamart. 252, *ut fluxa voluptas Diffluet.* Apul. Met. XI. 8, *incessu perfluo fœminam mentiebatur.* Apul. Met. I. 4, *puer in mollitiem decorus.*

[10] *mollitiam.* Cod. Ag. and Rig. *mollitiæ Veneris et Liberi.* The datives *illi, illi* seem to prove the correctness of the text.

[11] *immolant,* 'dedicate as an of-

CAP. X.

tutos. Et est plane in artibus quoque scenicis Liberi et Veneris patrocinium. Quæ privata et propria sunt scenæ, de gestu et corporis fluxu[9] mollitiam[10] Veneri et Libero immolant[11]; illi per sexum, illi per fluxum dissolutis[12]: quæ vero voce et modis et organis et lyris transiguntur, Apollines et Musas et Minervas et Mercurios mancipes[13] habent. Oderis, Christiane, quorum auctores non potes non odisse. Jam nunc volumus suggerere de artibus et de his, quorum auctores in nominibus[14] exsecramur. Scimus nihil esse nomina mortuorum, sicut et ipsa simulacra eorum sed non ignoramus, qui sub istis nominibus institutis simulacris operentur et gaudeant et divinitatem mentiantur, nequam spiritus scilicet, dæmones. Videmus igitur etiam artes eorum honoribus dicatas esse, qui nomina incolunt auctorum earum, nec ab idololatria vacare quarum institutores etiam propterea dii habentur.

fering.' De Cult. Fœm. II. 9, *humilitatem animæ suæ in victus quoque castigatione Dei immolant.* De Pudic. c. 10, *Si pœnitentiam Deo immolarit.* De Idol. c. 6, *ingenium tuum immolas.* De Cor. c. 10, *Hoc enim idolis immolatur.*

[12] *dissolutis.* Pamel. reads *dissoluti*, and Herald. in Arnob. VI. p. 197, quotes this passage, reading *dissoluti*, and proposing *isti* for *illi*. The passage, as read in the text, runs thus: 'what are proper and peculiar to the stage, effeminacy in gesture, and wanton posture of the body, men dedicate as a pleasant offering to Venus and Bacchus, the one dissolute through her sex, the other through his wantonness.'

[13] *mancipes*, patrons. De Idol. c. 1, *mancipes idolorum.*

[14] *in nominibus*, 'whose inventors we detest in their names.' The inventors of arts would not in themselves have been detestable, but their *names* have become so, because they have been made objects of idolatry. Under these names, as under the form of images, evil spirits are worshipped. So that the spirits may be said to take up their abode in names and images which are in themselves nothing, but become the habitation of dæmons. *incolunt*, 'occupy as *inquilini*.'

CAP. X. Immo, quod ad artes pertinet, altius præscripsisse debemus[15], dæmonas ab initio prospicientes[16] sibi inter cetera idololatriæ etiam spectaculorum inquinamenta, quibus hominem a Domino avocarent et suo honori obligarent, ejusmodi quoque artium ingenia inspirasse. Neque enim ab aliis procuratum fuisset quod ad illos perventurum esset: nec per alios tunc homines edidissent, quam per ipsos, in quorum nominibus et imaginibus et historiis fallaciam consecrationis sibi negotium acturæ constituerant[17].

CAP. XI. The same is the case as to the origin, titles, equipment, place, and art of the Stadium:

Ut ordo peragatur, ineamus etiam agonum[1]

[15] *altius præscripsisse debemus.* Dodgs.: 'we ought to have taken our rule from an earlier source, and to have said, that the dæmons, &c.' For the use of the infin. perfect comp. Lucret. I. 233: *Omnia enim debet, mortali corpore quæ sunt, Infinita ætas consumse.* Oehl. ad Scorp. c. 5, remarks Tertullian's fondness for perf. infinitives, quoting De Fug. c. 6, *poterant proposuisse.* ibid. c. 12, *maluit evitasse.* Apol. c. 2, *malunt credidisse.*

[16] *prospicientes.* Comp. De Cor. c. 7: *Si enim mendacium divinitatis diabolus operatur in hac etiam specie, a primordio mendax, sine dubio et ipse eos prospexerat, in quibus mendacium divinitatis ageretur.*

[17] *constituerant.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *constituerunt.* Pamel. ex cod. Clem. *constituerant,* followed by Rig. 'for neither would others have provided what was to come home to *them* (the dæmons); nor would they at that time have brought the arts into the world through the agency of other men, than of those very persons, in whose names, images and histories, they had contrived the cheat of a consecration.' On the consecration of images see De Idol. c. 15, n. 8.

CH. XI. [1] *agonum.* Tert. briefly considers *agones* under the heads of *origo, tituli, apparatus, locus, artes. Agones* were properly in Greece what *ludi* were in Rome, and they had a common origin. But although Tarquinius Priscus is said to have introduced *pugiles* in the Circus, the only Games which became truly national at Rome were the chariot-races. C. Fulvius first introduced athletes after the Ætolian war 186 B.C.; and in later days Greek Games became fashionable under the name of *Agones.* Scorp. c. 6: *Agonas istos contentiosa solemnia et superstitiosa certamina Græcarum et religionum et voluptatur quanta gratia sæculum celebret etiam Africæ liquuit.* There was a *Circus Agonalis* at Rome, and Parvinius engraves a coin representing Aurelian sacrificing at the *metæ,* inscribed *Agonalia Aug. Aureliani Augusti.*

retractatum. Origo istis de ludorum propinquitate est. Inde et ipsi sacri vel funebres instituti aut diis nationum aut mortuis fiunt. Proinde tituli, Olympia Jovi, quæ sunt Romæ Capitolina, item Herculi Nemeæa, Neptuno Isthmia, ceteri mortuarii agones. Quid ergo mirum, si apparatus agonum idololatria conspurcat de coronis profanis, de sacerdotalibus præsidibus, de collegiariis ministris[2], de ipso postremo boum sanguine? Ut de loco suppleam, ut de loco communi[3] pro collegio artium Musicarum et Minervalium et Apollinarium, etiam Martialium, per duellum[4], per tubam in stadio[5] Circum æmulantur, quod utique templum CAP. XI.

[2] *de collegiariis ministris*, servants of the various religious corporations—of Augures, of Pontifices, of Quindecimviri, and the like. All the adjuncts here mentioned had place in the Circus as well as the stadium.

[3] *ut de loco communi.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *at de loco.* Gel. and Pam. *ut.* Rig. *ac.* Jun. and Oehl. *et.* The latter especially warns the reader against connecting *et de loco communi* with *suppleam.* He refers it to the following clause, and considers the words *in circo* (probably a misprint for *in stadio*) as used by way of exegesis. The repetition of *de loco* seems to carry us back rather than forward, and as *et* and *ac* are both conjectural, and *at* is inadmissible, I have retained *ut.* 'To add a word in regard to a locality forming a kind of common ground for the arts of the Muses, of Minerva, of Apollo, and also of Mars; by battle and by trumpets they imitate the Circus in the stadium, which is even of itself, without such adjuncts, a temple of the idol whose solemnities it celebrates.'

[4] *per duellum.* The Cod. Ag. omits these words. Dodgs. connects them with *Martialium;* but the battle and trumpets were both principal features in which the stadium resembled the Circus.

[5] *in stadio.* Oehler reads *in stadio.* Cod. Ag. as collated by Baluz, *stadio;* more recently by Hildebrand *in statio.* Gangn. *aut stadio.* Gel. and Pamel. *ut stadio,* who also read *æmulentur.* The Ludi Martiales and Apollinares were usually celebrated in the Circus Maximus, but on extraordinary occasions a stadium was prepared elsewhere as for the athletic contests exhibited by Julius Cæsar. Sueton. Jul. c. 39. Cicero in his classification of public games does not mention the stadium, but assigns athletic exercises to the Circus. De Leg. II. 15: *Jam ludi publici quum sint cavea, circoque divisi, sint corporum exercitationes,*

CAP. XI. est[6] et ipsum ejus idoli, cujus sollemnitates agit. Sed et gymnicas artes Castorum et Herculum et Mercuriorum disciplinæ prodiderunt.

CAP XII. and of the Amphitheatre.

Superest illius insignissimis spectaculi acceptissimi[1] recognitio. Munus[2] dictum est ab officio, quoniam officium etiam muneris nomen est. Officium autem mortuis hoc spectaculo facere se veteres arbitrabantur, posteaquam illud humaniore atrocitate[3] temperaverunt. Nam olim, quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum erat, captivos vel malo ingenio servos mercati in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem[4]

cursu et pugillatione, luctatione curriculisque equorum usque ad certam victoriam, circo constituti; cavea cantu, voce ac fidibus et tibiis dummodo ea moderata sint, ut lege præscribitur. The erection and use of stadia was more common under the emperors. The stadium was especially for athletic and musical contests, both of exotic growth. In the vast Thermæ built during the empire there was always a stadium for athletes. So Mart. Epig. iii. 68: *Gymnasium, Thermæ, stadium est hac parte; recede, Exuimur, nudos parce videre viros.*

[6] *templum est.* The connexion of a stadium with idolatry was seen at Daphne in Syria. See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, ch. XXIII.

Ch. XII. [1] *insignissimis...acceptissimi.* Rig. proposes *insignissimi ac septissimi.* Oehl. from conj. *insignissimi, ac receptissimi.* No change is necessary.

[2] *munus.* Gladiatorial shows were not *ludi*, but *munera.* Suet. Jul. c. 39: *munere in foro depugnavit.* Apul. Met. IV. 13, gives an account of the preparations for a *munus: Gladiatores isti famosæ manus, venatores illi probatæ pernicitatis, alibi noxii perdita securitate suis epulis bestiarum saginas instruentes. Confixilis machina, sublicæ turres tabularum nexibus ad instar circumforaneæ domus, floridæ picturæ, decora futuræ venationis receptacula. Qui præterea numerus, quæ species ferarum!*

[3] *humaniore atrocitate,* 'with a more refined cruelty.' The Romans under Valentinian who exposed the captive Saxons to gladiatorial combats, and complained that twenty-nine had by suicide disappointed the people of their pleasure, were shocked at the *human sacrifices* of these Saxons. Gibb. c. XXV. Gladiators were first exhibited at Rome by M. and D. Junius Brutus in honor of their deceased father, A. U. C. 490. At first they were very rare and only shewn at public funerals (*indictiva*). But under the Emperors they became so common, that the people used to stop private funerals and demand such exhibitions of the

voluptate adumbrare. Itaque quos paraverant armis, quibus tunc et qualiter poterant eruditos tantum ut occidi discerent[5], mox edicto die inferiarum apud tumulos erogabant[6]. Ita mortem homicidiis consolabantur. Hæc muneris origo. Sed paulatim provecti ad tantam gratiam, ad quantam et crudelitatem, quia ferarum[7] voluptati satis non fiebat, nisi et feris humana corpora dissiparentur. Quod ergo mortuis litabatur, utique parentationi deputabatur. Quæ species proinde idololatria est, quoniam et idololatria parentationis est species[8]. Tam hæc quam illa mortuis ministrat. In mortuo- CAP. XII.

heir. Tiberius had once to disperse by soldiers a mob collected in the forum for this purpose. Suet. Tib. c. 37.

[4] *impietatem.* The amphitheatre was sacred to Jupiter Infernalis, or Latiaris, or Dis, on whose altar sacrifices were made. Apolog. c. 9: *Ecce in illa religiosissima Æneadarum urbe Jupiter quidam quem ludis suis humano sanguine proluunt. Sed bestiariorum, inquitis. Opinor hoc minas quam hominum.* Lipsius (de Amph. c. 3) quotes this, and conjectures *bestiarii, hominis,* considering that a particular man's blood was sprinkled as a sacrifice, quoting from Minuc. Fel. c. 30: *Hodieque a Romanis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur, et, quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur.* Comp. Prudent. adv. Symm. I. 396: *Funditur humanus Latiari in munere sanguis, Consessusque ille spectantum solvit ad aram Plutonis fera vota sui. Quid sanctius ara, Quæ bibit egestum per mystica tela cruorem.* Scorp. c. 7: *Et Latio ad hodiernum Jovi media in urbe sanguis ingustatur.* But the general effusion of blood is probably all that is meant in these passages.

[5] *quibus tunc....* 'instructed in the use of whatever weapons and in whatever way they could then be instructed only in order that they might learn to be killed.' There were numerous schools (*ludi*) for gladiators at Rome. Lips. Saturn. I. c. 14.

[6] *erogabant. Erogare,* 'to expend, waste, consume.' Ad Martyr. c. 4: *Quis ergo non libentissime habeat tantum erogare pro vero, quantum alii pro falso.* De Idol. c. 8: *coronas luxuria erogat.* There may be here some allusion to the *rogus,* or funeral pyre.

[7] *ferarum,* 'of beasts in human shape,' men who are savage as wild beasts. Comp. Tit. i. 12: κακὰ θήρια.

[8] *quod ergo....* Tertul. proves the *munus* to be idolatrous, thus: It originated in an offering to the dead, therefore it was a kind of *parentatio* (worship of the dead). But idolatry is itself a kind of *parentatio* (because it originates in the worship of the dead). Therefore the *munus* is idolatrous.

CAP. XII. rum autem idolis dæmonia consistunt. Ut et titulos consideremus, licet transierit hoc genus editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium, quæsturas[9] dico et magistratus et flaminia et sacerdotia, cum tamen nominis dignitas[10] idololatriæ crimine teneatur, necesse est, quicquid dignitatis nomine administratur, communicet etiam maculas ejus, a qua habet causas. Idem de apparatibus interpretabimur in ipsorum honorum suggestu deputandis, quod purpuræ, quod fasces, quod vittæ, quod coronæ, quod denique conciones et edicta[11], et pultes pridianæ[12], sine pompa diaboli, sine invitatione dæmonum non sunt. Quid ergo de horrido loco perorem, quem nec perjuria sustinent[13]? Pluribus enim et asperioribus nominibus amphitheatrum consecratur, quam Capitolium omnium dæmonum templum est[14]. Tot illic immundi spiritus considunt, quot homines capit. Ut et de artibus concludam, Martem et Dianam[15] utriusque ludi præsides novimus.

C. XIII. These idola- Satis, opinor, implevimus ordinem, quot et qui-

[9] *quæsturas*, &c. alluding to the custom of magistrates exhibiting *munera* to celebrate their appointment. See Lips. Saturn. I. c. 9.

[10] *nominis dignitas*. The dignity attaching to the name of *flamen* and *sacerdos* was plainly idolatrous. And Tertul. regards all heathen magistracies in the same light. De Idol. c. 18: *Nam dæmonia magistratus sunt sæculi.*

[11] *conciones et edicta*. The gladiatorial games were prefaced by harangues and edicts. Pamel. quotes Liv. II. 24: *Concioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret.*

[12] *pultes pridianæ*. Dodgs. considers this to allude to the banquets of the gladiators the night before the combat. See note 2 in this chapter, and below, c. 18, n. 3. More probably it refers to the custom of setting before the gods offerings of food and cakes. Arnob. VII. p. 235.

[13] *quem nec perjuria sustinent*. A place too terrible even for the heathen to perjure themselves in. It was customary to take oaths in the Capitol; and Tertull. turns this into an argument for the local terrors of the amphitheatre, as if men were thereby deterred from swearing there and swearing falsely, which they scrupled not to do in the Capitol.

C. XIII.

bus modis spectacula idololatriam committant, de originibus, de titulis, de apparatibus, de locis, de artificiis[1], quo certi sumus nulla ex parte competere nobis ea, qui bis idolis[2] renuntiavimus: non quod idolum sit aliquid, apostolus ait, sed quod quæ faciunt dæmoniis faciunt, consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus idolorum sive mortuorum sive, ut putant, deorum. Propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum conditionis unius est, dum mortui et dei unum sunt, utraque idololatria[3] abstinemus. Nec minus templa[4] quam monumenta despuimus, neutram aram novimus, neutram effigiem adoramus, non sacrificamus, non parentamus, sed neque de sacrificato[5] et parentato edimus, quia non possumus cœnam Dei edere et cœnam dæmoniorum. Si ergo gulam et ventrem ab inquinamentis liberamus, quanto magis augustiora nostra, oculos et aures, ab idolothytis et necrothytis voluptatibus

trous exhibitions are utterly unfit for those who have at their baptism renounced idols.

1 Cor. viii. 4.

1 Cor. x. 21.

[14] *templum est.* Lipsius (de Amph. c. 3,) proposed to read *quem Capitolium. Omnium dæmonum templum est;* and Heraldus, to omit *est.* Oehler explains the text by supplying *consecratum* from *consecratur. Amphitheatrum asperioribus nominibus consecratur, quam Capitolium, omnium dæmonum templum, consecratum est.*

[15] *Martem et Dianam.* Mars presiding over the *gladiatores*, Diana over the *venatores.* Mart. De Spect. 12: *Inter Cæsareæ discrimina sæva Dianæ.* Cassiodorus, Var. v. 42: *in honore Scythicæ Dianæ.*

Ch. XIII. [1] *artificiis.* This is a conjecture of La Cerda for the reading of the MSS., *sacrificiis*, adopted by Oehler, who has changed *sumus* into *simus.*

[2] *qui bis idolis.* Gangn. *quibus.* Cod. Ag., Gel. and Pamel. *qui.* The reading in the text is a conj. of Ursinus. Comp. De Coron. c. 3.

[3] *utraque idololatria.* Comp. De Cor. c. 10: *et ipsi* (sc. mortui) *idola statim fiunt et habitu et cultu consecrationis, quæ apud nos secunda idololatria est.*

[4] *templa.* Oehler quotes Min. Fel. c. 8: *templa ut busta* (Christiani) *despiciunt.* Comp. Arnob. adv. Gent. vi. p. 193: *Ex eo nonne patet et promptum est aut pro Diis immortalibus mortuos vos colere, aut inexpiabilem fieri numinibus contumeliam, quorum delubra et templa mortuorum superlata sunt bustis.*

[5] *neque de sacrificato.* Minuc. Fel. c. 12: *præcerptos cibos et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis.*

C. XIII. abstinemus, quæ non intestinis transiguntur, sed in ipso spiritu et anima digeruntur, quorum munditia magis ad Deum pertinet, quam intestinorum.

Matt. xv. 17—20.

C. XIV.

Shows are forbidden not only as being idolatrous, but also as included among worldly lusts;

Nunc interposito nomine[1] idololatriæ, quod solum subjectum sufficere deberet ad abdicationem spectaculorum, alia jam ratione tractemus ex abundanti, propter eos maxime qui sibi blandiuntur, quod non nominatim abstinentia ista præscripta sit[2], quasi parum etiam de spectaculis pronuntietur, cum concupiscentiæ sæculi damnantur. Nam sicut pecuniæ vel dignitatis vel gulæ vel libidinis vel gloriæ, ita et voluptatis concupiscentia est. Species autem voluptatis spectacula. Opinor, generaliter nominatæ concupiscentiæ continent in se et voluptates; æque generaliter intellectæ voluptates specialiter et in spectacula disseruntur.

Tit. ii. 12.

and because from their very nature they interrupt Christian gentleness and tranquillity.

Ceterum retulimus supra[3] de locorum conditione quod non per semetipsa nos inquinent, sed per ea quæ illic geruntur, per quæ simul inquinamenta combiberint, tunc et in alteros[4] respuunt. *Viderit[1]

Ch. XIV. [1] *nomine.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *nosse ne idololatriæ.* Gel. *nosse ne idololatria.* Pamel. *nosse de idololatria.* These two last are evidently attempts to correct the text. *nomine* is the happy conject. of Ursinus. *interposito* Rig. explains 'having been put aside,' as *intermisso.* Oehler: 'cum satis interim constet de nomine idololatriæ.' More probably, 'having placed the name of idolatry as a barrier between Christians and shows, I will proceed to give other reasons *ex abundanti.*'

[2] *quod non nominatim abstinentia ista præscripta sit.* Comp. De Cor. c. 1, and above, c. 3.

[3] *supra:* c. 8.

[4] *in alteros,* sc. *spectatores. alter* is used for *quivis alius.* De Cor. c. 12: *proinde miles ac servus alterius es.* Scorp. c. 15: *Petrus ab altero cingitur. Respuunt:* Oehler quotes Adv. Marc. II. 9: *Libertas arbitrii non ei culpam suam respuet, a quo data est, sed a quo non ut debuit administrata est.*

Ch. XV. [1] *viderit.* 'Let the chief accusation pass.' See De Cor. c. 2, n. 3.

[2] *contrarias.* 'Let us bring forward the remaining qualities of the objects themselves, all of them at variance with God.' *Contrarias Dei,* as above, c. 2, *Dei inimicum.* De Idol. c. 18: *inimicas Dei.* Lucr. III.

ergo, ut diximus, principalis titulus idololatriæ, reliquas ipsarum rerum qualitates contrarias omnes feramus Dei[2]. Deus præcipit Spiritum Sanctum, utpote pro naturæ suæ bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate et lenitate et quiete et pace tractare, non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare. Huic quomodo cum spectaculis poterit convenire? Omne enim spectaculum sine concussione spiritus non est. Ubi enim voluptas, ibi et studium, per quod scilicet voluptas sapit; ubi studium, ibi et æmulatio, per quam studium sapit. Porro et ubi æmulatio, ibi et furor et bilis et ira et dolor et cetera ex his, quæ cum his non competunt disciplinæ. Nam etsi qui[3] modeste et probe spectaculis fruitur pro dignitatis vel ætatis vel etiam naturæ suæ conditione, non tamen immobilis animi est sine tacita spiritus passione. Nemo ad voluptatem venit sine affectu, nemo affectum sine casibus suis[4] patitur. Ipsi casus incitamenta sunt

CAP. XV.

Eph. iv. 30, 31.

832: *aliena salutis*. *Contrarias* is a conj. of Oehler. Gangn. *contrarios*. Gel. and Pam. *contrariis*. Rig. from Cod. Ag., *contra Dei omnes feramus*: 'feramus res spectaculorum contra res Dei. Nota locutio: res Dei pro divina seu Christiana disciplina. Contra ferre est contra ponere, opponere, componere, committere, conferre.' RIG.

[3] *qui* for *quis*.

[4] *casibus suis*. La Cerda, who understands *casibus suis*, 'his falls,' quotes S. Aug. Confess. VI. 8, in reference to Alypius, who being taken to a show against his will for a long time kept his eyes shut. At last *quodam pugnæ casu cum clamor ingens totius populi vehementer eum pulsasset, curiositate victus... aperuit oculos, et perculsus est graviore vulnere in anima, quam ille in corpore, quem cernere concupivit, ceciditque miserabilius quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor*. Oehler follows La Cerda. But rather thus: 'No one comes to an entertainment without passion; no one feels passion without its incidentals. The incidentals are themselves stimulants of passion.' *Affectus* is *tacita spiritus passio*, 'the passion, the gratification of which constitutes enjoyment.' *casus sui*, 'its incidentals;' *i.e.* the emotions incidental to this passion, *e.g.* bitterness,

CAP. XV. affectus. Ceterum si cessat affectus, nulla est voluptas, et est reus jam ille vanitatis eo conveniens, ubi nihil consequitur. Puto autem, etiam vanitas extranea est nobis. Quid, quod et ipse se judicat inter eos positus, quorum se suis item nolens utique detestatorem confitetur? Nobis satis non est, si ipsi nihil tale facimus, nisi et talia facientibus non conferamur. Si furem, inquit, videbas,
Psal. l. 18. concurrebas cum eo. Utinam ne in sæculo quidem simul cum illis moraremur; sed tamen in
1 Joh. ii. 16. sæcularibus separamur, quia sæculum Dei est, sæcularia autem diaboli.

C. XVI. The prohibition of rage prohibits the mad rage of the Circus.

Cum ergo furor interdicitur nobis, ab omni spectaculo auferimur, etiam a Circo, ubi proprie furor[1] præsidet. Aspice populum ad spectaculum jam cum furore venientem, jam tumultuosum, jam cæcum, jam de sponsionibus[2] concitatum. Tardus

wrath, and the like. For the use of *suis*, see below, c. 28, note 1.

Ch. XVI. [1] *furor.* The *furor Circi* was proverbial. Apul. Met. x. 29: *Ad conseptum caveæ pompatico furore deducor.* Lact. Epitom. c. 9: *Circus vero innocentior æstimatur, sed major hic furor est; siquidem mentes spectantium tanta feruntur insania, ut non modo ad convicia, sed etiam in rixas necnon et in prælia et contentiones sæpe consurgant.* Lucian. Nigr. c. 29: ἤδη δὲ τούτων ἀποστὰς τῶν ἄλλων αὖθις ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς διεξῄει καὶ τὸν ὠθισμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἡνιόχων εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς περὶ τούτων διαλόγους· πολλὴ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡ ἱππομανία καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη σπουδαίων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐπείληπται. A memorable instance is that of Caligula's fury when the people favoured a different colour from his own. Sueton. Calig. c. 30: *Infensus turbæ furenti adversus studium suum exclamavit, Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.* On a similar occasion Caracalla sent soldiers into the crowd with instructions to kill every one who spoke against his faction.

[2] *sponsionibus*, 'wagers laid upon the races.' Oehler quotes Juv. Sat. xi. 199: *spectent juvenes, quos clamor et audax Sponsio, quos cultæ decet assedisse puellæ.* Mart. Epigr. xi, 1: *Sed cum sponsio fabulæque lassæ De Scorpe fuerint vel Incitato.* Petron. c. 70: *Cæpit dominum suum*

est illi prætor[3]: semper oculi in urna ejus cum sortibus volutantur: dehinc ad signum anxii pendent: unius dementiæ una vox est. Cognosce dementiam de vanitate. Misit[4], dicunt, et nuntiant invicem quod simul ab omnibus visum est. Teneo testimonium cæcitatis: non vident missum quid sit. Mappam putant, sed est diaboli ab alto præcipitati figura[5]. Ex eo itaque itur in furias et animos et discordias[6], et quicquid non licet sacerdotibus pacis[7]. Inde maledicta, convicia sine justitia odii, etiam suffragia sine merito amoris. Quid enim suum consecuturi sunt qui illic agunt, qui sui non sunt? nisi forte hoc solum, per quod sui non sunt: de aliena infelicitate contristantur, de aliena felicitate lætantur. Quicquid optant, quicquid abominantur, extraneum ab illis est: ita et amor apud illos otiosus et odium injustum. Et forsitan[8] sine C. XVI.

sponsione provocare, si prasinus proximis Circensibus primam palmam (tulerit).

[3] *prætor.* See a vivid description of the excitement of a chariot-race in Ovid, Amor. III. 2, 65, sqq.: *Maxima jam vacuo prætor spectacula Circo Quadrijuges æquo carcer misit equos. Cui studeas, video* etc.

[4] *misit, sc. mappam.* Mart. Epig. XII. 29: *Cretatam prætor cum vellet mittere mappam, Prætori mappam surpuit Hermogenes.* Suet. Ner. c. 22. Ennius, quoted by Panvin. de Lud. Circens.: *Expectant, veluti consul quum mittere signum Vult, omnes avidi expectant ad carceris oras, Qua mox emittat pictos ex faucibu' currus, Sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat.*

[5] *figura.* Rig. from Cod. Ag. *gula*, 'gula diaboli, *i. e.* diabolus, qui totus gula, totus gurges totus vorago expanditur et furit effusus toto Circo et sævit immaniter.' RIG. Comp. Scorp. c. 6: *evulsum hominem de diaboli gula per fidem. Figura*, the reading of the rest of the MSS. is better.

[6] *discordias.* Panvinius quotes Paulus Diac. in vit. Phocæ: *Hujus tempore Prasini et Veneti per Orientem et Ægyptum civile bellum fecerunt, ac se mutua cæde prostraverunt.*

[7] *sacerdotibus pacis*, alluding to the universal priesthood of Christians. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6, and v. 10. So below *sanctis*, as ἅγιοι for Christians in general. This was insisted and enlarged upon by the Montanists. De Cor. c. 11, *filius pacis.*

[8] *Et forsitan.* Cod. Ag. and

C. XVI. causa amare liceat, quam sine causa odisse. Deus certe etiam cum causa prohibet odisse, qui inimicos diligi jubet. Deus etiam cum causa maledicere non sinit, qui maledicentes benedici præcipit. Sed Circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem[9] aut civibus suis parcunt? Si quid horum, quibus Circus furit, alicubi competi sanctis, etiam in Circo licebit; si vero nusquam, ideo nec in Circo.

Matt. v. 44. Rom. xii. 14.

C. XVII. Similiter impudicitiam omnem amoliri[1] jubemur. Hoc igitur modo etiam a theatro separamur, quod est privatum consistorium impudicitiæ, ubi nihil probatur, quam quod alibi non probatur. Ita summa gratia ejus de spurcitia plurimum concinnata est, quam Atellanus gesticulator, quam mimus[2] etiam per mulieres repræsentat, sexum pudoris ex-

The prohibition of impurity prohibits the impurities of the theatre. Rom. xiii. 13.

Gangn. *An forsitan.* Gel. and Pam. *Et forsitan.* Rig. *An fors sit, tam. Quam* is used with the ellipse of *magis* or *potius.* Tac. Annal. IV. 61: *claris majoribus, quam vetustis.* Tac. German. c. 6: *consilii quem formidinis arbitrantur.* Apul. Apolog. c. 28: *Idque a me susceptum officii gratia quam lucri causa docebo.* Similar to this is the ellipse of *magis* after *quanto.* Ad Natt. II. 12: *quanto diffusa res est, tanto substringenda nobis erit.* On *tanto abest,* see De Cor. c. 14, n. 1. Comp. also the ellipse of *aliud* before *quam.* See De Cor. c. 14, n. 3.

[9] *ne principibus quidem.* In Cassiod. Var. I. 27, there is a letter from Theodoric directing certain patricians and prefects not to injure *populum partis Prasini. Sed ne forsitan magnificos viros loquacitas popularis offenderit, præsumptionis hujus habenda descriptio est. Teneatur ad culpam, quisquis transeunti reverentissimo senatori injuriam inflixit si male optavit cum bene loqui debuit. Mores autem graves in spectaculis quis requivat? Ad Circum nesciunt convenire Catones. Quicquid illic gaudenti populo dicitur, injuria non putatur. Locus est qui defendit excessum, quorum garrulitas si patienter accipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur. Respondeant nobis certe qui talibus studiis occupentur, si tranquillos optant adversarios suos. Certe volunt eos esse victores, qui ad injurias hic prosiliunt, cum se superatis turpiter erubescunt. Unde ergo irasci volunt, quod sine dubio se optasse cognoscunt?*

Ch. XVII. [1] *impudicitiam amoliri.* So Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. Cod. Ag. and the margin of Gangn. have *nec impudicitiam amare,* which Rig. adopts, explaining *nec omnem* by *nullam.* The position of *nec* scarcely admits of this. Oehl. by conject. *amandare.*

terminans[3], ut facilius domi quam scenæ erubescant[4], quam denique pantomimus[5] a pueritia patitur in corpore, ut artifex esse possit. Ipsa etiam prostibula publicæ libidinis hostiæ in scena proferuntur, plus miseræ in præsentia feminarum, quibus solis latebant, perque omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis ora transducuntur. Locus, stipes, elogium, etiam quibus opus non est, prædicatur. Taceo de reliquis, etiam quæ in tenebris et in speluncis suis delitescere decebat, ne diem contaminarent. Erubescat senatus, erubescant[6] ordines omnes. Ipsæ illæ pudoris sui interemtrices de gestibus suis ad lucem et populum expavescentes semel anno erubescant. Quod si nobis omnis impudicitia exsecranda est, cur liceat audire quæ loqui non licet, cum etiam

C. XVII.

Eph. v. 3.

Matt. xii. 36.

[2] *mimus.* Gel. *minus.* Pamel. *mimus* ex emend., which is adopted by Rig. Oehl. *minus*, omitting all mention of any various reading. He also reads without notice *dei spurcitia.* No edition that I have seen has *dei*; perhaps both *dei* and *minus* are misprints. Oehl. from Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *muliebres*, sc. *vestes*, referring to c. 23: *qui muliebribus vestietur.* Probably *muliebribus* is there neuter, from *muliebria.* The allusion is here to the indecencies of the Floralia. Comp. Lact. D. I. I. 20: *Exuuntur etiam vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, quæ tunc mimorum funguntur officio.*

[3] *sexum pudoris exterminans*, 'sexum extra terminos pudoris abducens,' Rig. Comp. Apul. Met. III. 22, *exterminatus animi*, and ibid. V. 18, *extra terminum mentis suæ posita.*

[4] *ut facilius domi...* 'that they may be put to the blush at home more readily than upon the stage,' i. e. that they may do things openly upon the stage which they would blush to do even in the privacy of their homes.

[5] *pantomimus.* Comp. Arnob. IV. p. 151: *Quid pantomimi vestri, quid histriones, quid illa mimorum atque exoleti generis multitudo?*

[6] *erubescant.* The light in which even the heathen regarded these spectacles may be seen from the following law, *De repudiis*, quoted by Lips. Amph. c. 3: *Nec ullo modo uxorem expellat, nisi adulteram, vel Circensibus vel theatralibus vel arenariis spectaculis, se prohibente, gaudentem.* See also a letter of Pliny, Ep. VII. 24. The Emperor Julian in a rescript for the reformation of the pagan religion, prescribes to all priests abstinence from the circus, theatre, and amphitheatre. Julian, Op. p. 555 (Paris, 1630). *Semel anno*, at the annual celebration of the Floralia.

C. XVII. scurrilitatem et omne vanum verbum judicatum a Deo sciamus? Cur æque liceat videre quæ facere flagitium est? Cur quæ ore prolata communicant[7] hominem, ea per oculos et aures admissa non videantur communicare? cum spiritui appareant[8] aures et oculi, nec possit mundus præstari, cujus apparitores inquinantur. Habes igitur et theatri interdictionem de interdictione impudicitiæ.

Mar. vii. 20.

C. XVIII. *Sin et doctrinam sæcularis litteraturæ, ut stultitiæ apud Deum deputatam, aspernamur, satis præscribitur nobis et de illis speciebus spectaculorum, quæ sæculari litteratura lusoriam vel agonisticam scenam[1] dispungunt. Quod si tragœdiæ et comœdiæ scelerum et libidinum auctrices, cruentæ et lascivæ, impiæ et prodigæ, nullius rei aut atrocis aut vilis commemoratio melior est. Quod in facto rejicitur, etiam in dicto non est recipiendum.

The literature of the stage is forbidden, as belonging to the 'foolishness' of worldly wisdom. 1 Cor. iii. 19. Nor may we represent what it is unlawful to do.

Quod si et stadium contendas in Scripturis nominari, sane obtinebis. Sed quæ in stadio ge-

The vanity and ferocity of the stadium are forbidden. 1 Cor. ix. 24—27.

[7] *communicant*, Gr. κοινοῖ, 'makes common or unclean.' Erasm. 'impurum facit.' Vulg. *Illa sunt quæ communicant hominem.* De Patient. c. 8: *Non vasculorum inquinamentis, sed eorum quæ ex ore promuntur, hominem communicari.*

[8] *appareant.* Apolog. c. 13: *et haruspex mortuis apparet.* De Idol. c. 17: *qui regibus idolatris apparuerunt.* Liv. II. 55: *Quatuor et viginti Lictores apparere consulibus.*

Ch. XVIII. [1] *lusoriam vel agonisticam scenam dispungunt.* Heraldus on Arnob. III. p. 109, refers to the common use of ἀγωνισταί for actors, and explains *lusoriam vel agonisticam scenam,* as 'the comic and tragic stage.' Most commentators agree with Heraldus. But no authority is given for such a use of the words. Is not *lusoria scena* the common theatrical representations, including tragedy and comedy—the *agonistica*, such representations as were common in the *agones,* where there were trials of musical skill, and similar exhibitions? *dispungere,* 'to draw up accounts, setting one side against the other,' Apolog. c. 37, *malum malo dispungi;* Adv. Jud. c. 9, *Itaque specialiter dispungamus ordinem cœptum.* 'to set forth as for account,' Apol. c. 45, *nos qui sub Deo omnium speculatore dispungimur.* 'to settle, to dispose of,' Apol. c. 44, *qui sententiis elogia dispungitis.* Hence 'to arrange and set forth in order.' *Illis speciebus...* 'those kinds of shows, which by the

runtur, indigna conspectu tuo non negabis, pugnos et calces et colaphos et omnem petulantiam, et quamcunque humani oris, id est divinæ imaginis, depugnationem. Non probabis usquam vanos cursus[2] et jaculatus et saltus vaniores; nusquam tibi vires aut injuriosæ aut vanæ placebunt, sed nec cura factitii corporis, ut plasticam Dei supergressa; et propter Græciæ otium altiles[3] homines oderis. Et palæstrica diaboli negotium est. Primos homines diabolus elisit[4]. Ipse gestus colubrina vis est[5], tenax ad occupandum, tortuosa ad obligandum, liquida ad elabendum. Nullus tibi coronarum usus est, quid de coronis voluptates aucuparis?

C. XVIII.

Gen. i. 27.

Gen. iii. 6.

C. XIX.

The condemnation of impious cruelty condemns the cruel combats of the Amphitheatre.

Gen. ix. 5, 6. Exod. xx. 13. Matt. v. 21, 22.

Expectabimus nunc et amphitheatri repudium de Scripturis. Si sævitiam, si impietatem, si feritatem permissam nobis contendere possumus, eamus in amphitheatrum. Si tales sumus, quales dicimur[1], delectemur sanguine humano. Bonum est, cum pu-

help of the learning of the world set the stage in order for theatrical or for musical performances.'

[2] *vanos cursus.* Arnob. VII. p. 239: *sine causa alios cursitare, amicitiarum fide salva contendere...alios et crudis mutilare se cæstibus.*

[3] *altiles*, 'fattened.' Juv. Sat. v. 115. De Patient. c. 11: *Conquirito altilium enormem saginam.* Gladiators were fattened for the fight. Cypr. Ep. ad Donat. p. 4: *Impletur in succum fortioribus corpus, et arvinæ toris membrorum moles robusta pinguescit, ut saginatus in pœnam carius pereat.* See above, c. 12. Here Tertull. is speaking of *athletes*, on whose diet especial care was bestowed. Athen. x. 1—3, gives some strange stories of the voracity of athletes: *πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀθλοῦντες μετὰ τῶν γυμνασμάτων καὶ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ διδάσκονται.*

[4] *elisit. elidere* is properly applied to 'throttling' in wrestling: here simply to overthrow. Scorp. c. 6: *per quæ cum adversario experiremur, ut a quo libenter homo elisus est, eum jam constanter elidat.* Tertullian's argument amounts to this. The devil *overthrew* our first parents; therefore the art of *throwing over* is of the devil.

[5] *ipse gestus...* 'The very attitude of wrestling is as the coiling of a serpent.'

Ch. XIX. [1] *quales dicimur.* Alluding to the monstrous charges of cruelty brought against the Christians. See Apolog. c. 9.

C. XIX. niuntur nocentes. Quis hoc nisi nocens negabit? Et tamen innocens de supplicio alterius lætari non potest, cum magis competat innocenti dolere, quod homo par ejus tam nocens factus est, ut tam crudeliter impendatur. Quis autem mihi sponsor est, nocentes semper vel ad bestias vel ad quodcunque supplicium decerni, ut non innocentiæ quoque inferatur aut ultione judicantis aut infirmitate defensionis aut instantia quæstionis? Quam melius ergo est nescire cum mali puniuntur, ne sciam et cum boni pereunt, si tamen bonum sapiunt[2]. Certe quidem gladiatores innocentes[3] in ludum veniunt, ut publicæ voluptatis[4] hostiæ fiant. Etiam qui damnantur[5] in ludum, quale est, ut de leviore delicto in homicidas emendatione proficiant? Sed hæc ethnicis respondi. Ceterum absit, ut de istius spectaculi aversione diutius discat Christianus. Quamquam nemo hæc omnia plenius exprimere potest, nisi qui adhuc spectat, malo non implere quam meminisse[6].

CAP. XX. It is vain then to ask for special prohibitions in Scripture.

Quam vana igitur, immo desperata argumentatio eorum, qui sine dubio tergiversationem admittendæ

[2] *si tamen bonum sapiunt*, 'if, however, there be any savour of good in them:' a correction added to qualify the application of the term *good* to any heathen. De Idol. c. 1, *adversus Dominum sapiunt.*

[3] *innocentes.* Volunteers in such contests. See Sueton. Jul. c. 39, and Juv. Sat. II. 143, sqq.; or captives in war, or hired combatants.

[4] *publicæ voluptatis.* Arnob. II. p. 72: *ex quibus in altero* (sc. amphitheatro) *mandi homines cernerent et bestiarum laniatibus dissipari: interficere se alios nullius ob meriti causam, sed in gratiam voluptatemque sessorum.* Apul. Met. IV. 13: *Vir et genere primarius et opibus pluribus et liberalitate præcipue dignus fortunæ suæ splendore publicas voluptates instruebat.* Ibid. IV. 14: *splendidus publicæ voluptatis apparatus.*

[5] *damnantur.* Apuleius (Met. IV. 13) calls wild beasts procured for the amphitheatre, *generosa illa damnatorum capitum funera.*

[6] *Quanquam.* 'Although no one can set forth more fully than myself all these particulars, except he be one who is still in the habit of attending such shows, I had

CAP. XX.

voluptatis[1] obtendunt, nullam ejus abstinentiæ mentionem specialiter vel localiter in Scripturis determinari, quæ directo prohibeat ejusmodi conventibus interesse servum Dei. Novam proxime defensionem suaviludii[2] cujusdam audivi. Sol, inquit, immo etiam ipse Deus de cœlo spectat nec contaminatur. Sane sol et in cloacam radios suos defert, nec inquinatur. Utinam autem Deus nulla flagitia hominum spectaret, ut omnes judicium evaderemus. Sed spectat et latrocinia, spectat et falsa et adulteria et fraudes et idololatrias et spectacula ipsa. Idcirco ergo nos non spectabimus, ne videamur ab illo qui omnia spectat. Comparas, homo, reum et judicem: reum, qui, quia videtur, reus est: judicem, qui, quia videt, judex est. Numquid ergo et extra limites Circi furori studemus, et extra cardines theatri impudicitiæ intendimus, et insolentiæ extra stadium, et immisericordiæ extra amphitheatrum, quod Deus etiam extra cameras et gradus et apulias[3] oculos habet? Erramus. Nusquam et

The excuse that because God sees all things, all things are fit to be seen, is utterly inadmissible.

rather leave my subject incomplete than bring them to my recollection.' Tertullian had, it seems, before he was a Christian, been a passionate lover of these shows.

Ch. XX. [1] *quo sine dubio....* 'who without doubt are glossing over their disposition to turn aside from the right path in courting pleasure.' Cod. Ag. followed by Rig. and Oehl. *tergiversatione amittendæ voluptatis. Tergiversatio admitt.*, is 'the backward step of courting pleasure.' *obtendunt*, 'veil.' Cic. Q. Frat. I. 1, 5: *multis simulationum involucris tegitur, et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur cujusque natura.*

[2] *suaviludii.* De Cor. c. 6.

[3] *cameras, gradus, apulias....* *cameræ* are the seats in the porticos above the *gradus*, the rows of benches. Lips. (de Amph. c. 13) confesses that he cannot satisfactorily explain *apulias;* probably they are 'curtains' used to exclude the heat. Mart. Ep. XIV. 155: *Velleribus primis Apulia, Roma secundis nolitis.* Plin. N. H. VIII. 73, *Lana autem laudatissima Apula*, where Harduin quotes Colum. VII. 2: *Generis eximii Milesias, Calatoras, Apulasque nostri existimant.*

CAP. XX. nunquam excusator quod Deus damnat. Nusquam et nunquam licet quod semper et ubique non licet. Hæc est veritatis integritas et quæ ei debetur disciplinæ plenitudo et æqualitas timoris et fides obsequii, non immutare sententiam nec variare judicium. Non potest aliud esse quod vere quidem est bonum seu malum. Omnia autem penes veritatem Dei fixa sunt.

C. XXI.

The heathen gaze with delight in the Circus, Theatre, and Amphitheatre, on things at which they elsewhere shudder.

Ethnici, quos penes nulla est veritatis plenitudo, quia nec doctor veritatis Deus, malum ac bonum pro arbitrio ac libidine interpretantur, alibi bonum quod alibi malum, et alibi malum quod alibi bonum. Sic ergo evenit, ut qui in publico vix necessitate vesicæ tunicam levet, idem in Circo aliter non exsultet, nisi totum pudorem in faciem omnium intentet: ut et qui filiæ virginis ab omni spurco verbo aures tuetur, ipse eam in theatrum ad illas voces gesticulationesque deducat: et qui in plateis litem manu agentem aut compescit aut detestatur,

Ch. XXI. [1] *flagellis et virgis.* Lipsius (Saturn. II. c. 5) quotes from Senec. Ep. 7, the language of the infuriated populace: *Occide, ure, verbera. Quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? quare parum audacter occidit? quare parum libenter moritur? Plagis aguntur in vulnera et mutuos ictus nudis et obviis pectoribus excipiunt.*

[2] *insigniori cuique homicidæ.* Apuleius (Met. x. 28) gives an account of a woman who had committed murder and other crimes: *Atque illam, minus quidem quam merebatur, sed quod dignus cruciatus alius excogitari non poterat, exserte bestiis objiciendam pronuntiavit.* Lact. D. I. VI. 20: *Nam qui hominem, quamvis ob merita damnatum, in conspectu suo jugulari pro voluptate computat, conscientiam suam polluit; tam scilicet, quem si homicidii, quod fit occulte, spectator et particeps fiat.*

[3] *rudem et pileum.* Mart. de Spect. 29: *Misit utrique rudes et palmas Cæsar utrique.*

[4] *illum vero...* 'Moreover it comes to pass, that he calls again for the gladiator who has received his death-blow, in order that he may gaze upon his face.' The savage delight of the people in scenes of blood is shewn by the mimic representation of the cruel death of Laureolus. Juv. Sat. VIII. 187; Mart. de Spect. 7.

C. XXI.

idem in stadio gravioribus pugnis suffragium ferat: et qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro derosa et dissipata et in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbat: immo qui propter homicidæ pœnam probandam ad spectaculum veniat, idem gladiatorem ad homicidium flagellis et virgis[1] compellat invitum: et qui insigniori cuique homicidæ[2] leonem poscit, idem gladiatori atroci petat rudem et pileum[3] præmium conferat: illum vero confectum etiam oris spectaculo repetat[4], libentius recognoscens de proximo quem voluit occidere de longinquo, tanto durior si noluit[5].

C. XXII.

Among the heathen who confuse good and evil, the profession is infamous, although the professors are courted and loved.
Es. v. 20.

Quid mirum? Inæquata ista[1] hominum miscentium et commutantium statum boni et mali per inconstantiam sensus, et judicii varietatem. Etenim ipsi auctores et administratores spectaculorum quadrigarios, scenicos, xysticos, arenarios[2] illos amantissimos, quibus viri animas, feminæ autem illis[3]

Comp. Prudent. adv. Symm. II. 1096: *O tenerum, mitemque animum! consurgit ad ictus, Et quoties victor ferrum jugulo inserit, illa Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque jacentis Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice rumpi.* Lactant. D. I. VI. 20: *Quæro nunc an possint pii et justi homines esse qui constitutos sub ictu mortis ac misericordiam deprecantes non tantum patiuntur occidi, sed efflagitant, feruntque ad mortem crudelia et inhumana suffragia, nec vulneribus satiati, nec cruore contenti; quinetiam percussos jacentesque repeti jubent, et cadavera ictibus dissipari, ne quis illos simulata morte deludat.*

[5] *tanto durior, si noluit.* Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. *non voluit*, 'being so much the more hard-hearted to delight in such a sight, if he did not desire his death.'

Ch. XXII. [1] *inæquata ista.* Pam. *de inæquata ista...varietate.* This is probably conjectural. *ista* is the nom. following and explaining *Quid mirum?* 'What wonder? Those inconsistencies,' &c.

[2] *quadrigarios, scenicos, xysticos, arenarios.* Apol. c. 38: *nihil est nobis dictu, visu, auditu cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenæ, cum vanitate xysti.*

[3] *quibus viri animas...* This passage is so corrupted in the MSS. as

C. XXII. etiam corpora sua substernunt, propter quos in ea committunt[4], quæ reprehendunt, ex eadem parte qua magnificiunt, deponunt et deminuunt, immo manifeste damnant[5] ignominia et capitis minutione[6], arcentes curia, rostris, senatu, equite, ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul et ornamentis quibusdam. Quanta perversitas! Amant quos multant, depretiant quos probant; artem magnificant, artificem notant. Quale judicium est, ut ob ea quis offuscetur, per quæ promeretur? Immo quanta confessio est malæ rei, cujus auctores, cum acceptissimi sint, sine nota non sunt.

Rom. i. 32.

C. XXIII. Cum igitur humana recordatio etiam obstrepente gratia voluptatis damnandos eos censeat ademptis bonis dignitatum in quendam scopulum famositatis[1], quanto magis divina justitia in ejusmodi artifices animadvertit? An Deo placebit auriga ille tot animarum inquietator, tot furiarum[2] minister, tot statuum[3], ut sacerdos coronatus[4] vel coloratus ut leno, quem curru rapiendum diabolus adversus Heliam[5] exornavit? Placebit et ille, qui

Much less will God approve such impiety and cruelty.

2 Reg. ii. 11.

to be unintelligible without correction. The reading of the text is the emendation of Lips. de Amph. c. 3. Comp. Juv. Sat. VI. 110.

[4] *in ea committunt*, sc. *in ea se committunt*. Comp. above, c. 10, *dirigimus*.

[5] *damnant*. Comp. Arnob. VII. p. 239: *turpissimas res, quas censor animus respuat et quarum actores inhonestos esse jus vestrum et inter capita computari judicavit infamia.* S. Aug. C. D. II. 14.

[6] *capitis minutione*. Hor. Od. III. 5, 42: *ut capitis minor*.

Ch. XXIII. [1] *in quendam scopulum famositatis*, 'to a dishonourable exile;' the exclusion from civil rights being compared to banishment to Gyara or Seriphus. Juv. Sat. X. 170: *Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvaque Seripho.* Juv. Sat. XIII. 244: *dabit in laqueum vestigia noster Perfidus, et nigri patietur carceris uncum, Aut maris Ægei rupem, scopulosque frequentes Exulibus magnis.*

[2] *tot furiarum*. See above, c. 9

vultus suos novacula mutat? infidelis erga faciem C. XXIII.
suam, quam non contentus Saturno et Isidi et Libero proximam facere, insuper contumeliis alaparum[6] sic objicit, quasi de præcepto Domini ludat? Docet scilicet et diabolus verberandam maxillam patienter offerre. Sic et tragœdos co- Matt v. 39.
thurnis extulit, quia nemo potest adjicere cubitum Luc. xii. 25.
unum ad staturam suam. Mendacem facere vult Christum. Jam vero ipsum opus personarum quæro an Deo placeat, qui omnem similitudinem vetat Exod. xx. 4.
fieri, quanto magis imaginis suæ? Non amat falsum auctor veritatis; adulterium est apud illum omne quod fingitur. Proinde vocem, sexus, ætates mentientem, amores, iras, gemitus, lacrimas asseverantem non probabit, qui omnem hypocrisin damnat. Matt. xxiii. 23.
Ceterum cum in lege præscribit maledictum esse qui muliebribus vestietur, quid de pantomimo judi- Deut. xxii. 5.
cabit, qui etiam muliebribus curatur[7]? Sane et ille artifex pugnorum impunitus ibit? Tales enim cicatrices cæstuum et callos pugnorum et aurium fungos a Deo, cum plasmaretur accepit[8]. Ideo illi

and 16.

[3] *tot statuum. status*, conditions of mind of those occupied with the chariot-race.

[4] *ut sacerdos coronatus* De. Cor. c. 10, *coloratus;* Oehler quotes Donat. de Tragœd. et Comœd. *Leno pallio varii coloris utitur.*

[5] *adversus Heliam*, 'to mock the story of Elijah.' S. Cypr. de Spect. p. 339: *Nam quod Helias auriga est Israelis, non patrocinatur ludis Circensibus.*

[6] *alaparum.* Arnob. VII. p. 239: *Delectantur, ut res est, stupidorum capitibus rasis, salapittarum sonitu atque plausu, factis et dictis turpibus, facinorum ingentium rubore.*

[7] *muliebribus curatur*, 'is studiously fashioned with all the peculiarities of a woman.' Arnob. VII. p. 239: *in fœmineas mollitudines enervantes se viros.*

[8] *Tales...* This and the following sentences are of course strongly ironical.

C. XXIII. oculos Deus commendavit, ut vapulando deficiant. Taceo de illo, qui hominem leoni præ se opponit, ne parum sit homicida quam qui eundem postmodum jugulat[9].

C. XXIV. It is clear then that these are the 'pomps of the devil' which we have renounced.

Quot adhuc perorabimus modis nihil ex his, quæ spectaculis deputantur, placitum Deo esse, aut congruens Dei servis quod Domino placitum non sit? Si omnia propter diabolum instituta et ex diaboli rebus instructa monstravimus (nihil enim non diaboli est, quicquid Dei non est vel Deo displicet), hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei[1] ejeramus. Quod autem ejeramus, neque facto neque dicto neque visu neque prospectu participare debemus. Ceterum nonne ejeramus et rescindimus signaculum rescindendo testationem ejus? Numquid ergo superest, ut ab ipsis ethnicis responsum flagitemus? Illi nobis jam renuntient, an liceat Christianis spectaculo uti. Atquin hinc vel maxime[2] intelligunt factum Christianum de repudio spectaculorum. Itaque negat manifeste,

[9] *Taceo de illo...* Rig. by conject. reads *qui* for *quam qui*, explaining it by saying that sometimes when the beasts were let in, one gladiator to save himself thrust another forward, who if successful against the lion sometimes fought with the first gladiator and was slain by him, who was thus twice a murderer. This is approved by Oehler, but seems to me forced. The reading of the MSS. *quam qui* is adopted by La Cerda, who conceives *qui jugulat* to be the lion. But there is little probability in this. The opposition lies between the gladiator who, as far as in him lies, causes the death of another by thrusting him forward to the lion, and him who actually puts him to death. If after a gladiator had fought, the people willed his death, another person slew him (*jugulabat*). 'I say nothing of the case of him who thrust forward a combatant to the lion to screen himself, lest he be thought less of a murderer, than he who afterwards cuts the same combatant's throat.' *parum, quam* is equivalent to *minus, quam*. See above, c. 16, n. 8.

Ch. XXIV. [1] *signaculo fidei,*

qui, per quod agnoscitur, tollit. Quid autem spei superest in hujusmodi homine? Nemo in castra hostium transit, nisi projectis armis suis, nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui, nisi pactus simul perire. C. XXIV.

C. XXV. Presence at these shows is incompatible with prayer and meditation.

An ille recogitabit eo tempore de Deo, positus illic ubi nihil est de Deo? Pacem, opinor, habebit in animo contendens pro auriga, pudicitiam ediscet attonitus in mimos. Immo in omni spectaculo nullum magis scandalum occurret, quem ipse ille mulierum et virorum accuratior cultus. Ipsa consensio, ipsa in favoribus[1] aut conspiratio aut dissensio inter se de commercio scintillas libidinum conflabellant. Nemo denique in spectaculo ineundo prius cogitat, nisi videri et videre. Sed tragœdo vociferante exclamationes ille alicujus prophetæ retractabit? et inter effeminati histrionis modos psalmum secum comminiscetur? et cum athletæ agent, ille dicturus est repercutiendum non esse? Matt. v. 39.
poterit et de misericordia moveri defixus in morsus ursorum et spongias[2] retiariorum? Avertat Deus a

'baptism.' La Cerda refers to S. Aug. De Catechizandis Rudibus, c. 26, where the term *signacula* is applied to other sacraments. Comp. De Idol. c. 12, *fidem obsignatam.* De Cor. c. 3, *frontem signaculo terimus.* De Idol. c. 19, *signo Christi.* De Cor. c. 11, *Et signum postulavit a principe qui jam a Deo accepit?*

[2] *hinc vel maxime.* Apol. c. 42: *Spectaculis non convenimus.* Minuc. Fel. c. 12: *Vos vero suspensi interim atque soliciti honestis voluptatibus abstinetis. Non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis.* Bunsen (Hippol. Vol. III. p. 8) quotes from Greek and Coptic canons on those who are to be admitted to baptism: 'If any one followeth the sports of the theatre, their huntings, or horse-races, or combats, let him leave them off, or let him be rejected.' Comp. Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 5, 6—8.

Ch. XXV. [1] *in favoribus*, in the espousal of one or other party in the contests. Ovid. Ars Amat. I. 145: *Cujus equi veniant, facito, studiose, requiras; Nec mora: quisquis erit cui favet illa, fave.*

[2] *spongias.* Sponges were used

C. XXV. suis tantam voluptatis exitiosæ cupiditatem. Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei[3] in diaboli ecclesiam tendere, de cœlo, quod aiunt, in cœnum? illas manus, quas ad Deum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo Amen in Sanctum[4] protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας[5] alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo[6]?

1 Tim. ii. 8.

2 Tim. iv. 18.

C. XXVI. They who attend shows expose themselves to the devil's power.

Cur igitur non ejusmodi[1] etiam dæmoniis penetrabiles fiant? Nam et exemplum accidit Domino teste ejus mulieris, quæ theatrum adiit et inde cum

by gladiators to wipe off the blood from their wounds, also to clear the blood from the ground. Seneca (Ep. 70) gives an account of a gladiator who committed suicide by forcing such a sponge, affixed as usual to a stick, down his throat. Mart. Epig. XII. 48, *infelix damnatæ spongia virgæ.* Lips. (Saturn. II. c. 8) considers the sponges to be used as a covering to the breast. Liv. IX. 40, *spongia pectori tegumentum.* The contrast being *misericordia*, I take the allusion to be to the first-named use of sponges.

[3] *de ecclesia Dei. ecclesia* for the building, 1 Cor. xi. 18. See Bingh. Chr. Antiq. VIII. 1, 1, who quotes Vopiscus in Vit. Aurel.: *Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse: perinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnium, tractaretis.* De Idol. c. 7, *ab idolis in ecclesiam venire.* De Cor. c. 3, *in ecclesia.* Rig. quotes S. Aug. Enarr. in Psalm. xxxix. § 10: *Quantis turbis implentur ecclesiæ! stipantur parietes, pressuris se urgent, prope se suffocant multitudine. Rursus ab eis ipsis, si munus est, curritur ad amphitheatrum.* And in Psal. L. § 1: *Si forte in ipso circo aliqua ex causa expavescunt, continuo se signant, et stant illic portantes in fronte, unde abscederent, si hoc in corde portarent.*

[4] *Sanctum*, the holy sacrament. S. Cypr. de Spect. p. 341, complains of those who attended shows, that they who had communicated carried the *sanctum* through the most base crowd. Allusion is here made to the custom of communicants saying *Amen*, upon reception of the Eucharist. Bingh. Chr. Ant. XV. 5, 8. Rigalt quotes S. Aug. Serm. ad Infant. de Sacr.: *Si ergo vos estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrum in mensa Domini positum est: mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id quod estis Amen respondetis et respondendo subscribitis. Audis ergo Corpus Christi et respondes Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen.* And S. Ambrose, Lib. IV. de Sacram. cap. 5: *Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi, et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, verum. Quod confitetur lingua, teneat affectus.* Rigalt also mentions the complaint urged by Cornelius Bishop of Rome against Novatus, that he forced communicants to swear that they

dæmonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo[2] cum oneraretur[3] immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi, constanter, Et justissime, inquit, feci: in meo eam inveni. Constat et alii linteum in somnis ostensum ejus diei nocte, qua tragœdum audierat, cum exprobratione nominato tragœdo, nec ultra quintum diem eam mulierem in sæculo fuisse. Quot utique et alia documenta cesserunt de his, qui cum diabolo apud spectacula communicando a Domino exciderunt! Nemo enim potest duobus Matt. vi. 24.

C. XXVI.

would not return to Cornelius: ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ Ἀμήν. Euseb. E. H. VI. 43; where Heineken brings forward other passages.

[5] *εἰς αἰῶνας.* Cod. Ag. *his apæonio.* Rig. would read ἀπ' αἰῶνος, referring to the acclamations used to Commodus: νικᾷς, νικήσεις, ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Ἀμαζόνιε, νικᾷς. The reading of the text, which is that of all other editions, is quite as intelligible. Comp. the common doxology, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος.

[6] *Deo Christo.* Cod. Ag. followed by Rig. and Oehler, *Deo et Christo.* The rest, *Deo Christo.* Plin. Ep. x. 101: *Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod astringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati negarent; quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.*

Ch. XXVI. [1] *ejusmodi,* 'men of such a kind.' *ejusmodi* and *hujusmodi* are frequently used as substantives, especially following prepositions. De Idol. c. 13 and c. 15, *in hujusmodi.* Also c. 14 and c. 21, *in ejusmodi.* Oehl. on De Baptism. c. 12, quotes De Orat. c. 15: *hujusmodi enim non religioni sed superstitioni deputantur.* And De Jejun. c. 7, *pro ejusmodi.*

[2] *in exorcismo.* Exorcism originally practised either by ordinary ministers or private Christians. Exorcists were constituted as an order in the latter part of the 3rd century. Bingh. Chr. Ant. III. 4, 1—8. Apolog. c. 23. De Idol. c. 11. De Cor. c. 11, *quos interdiu exorcismis fugavit.*

[3] *oneraretur.* 'h. e. obligaretur, accusaretur. Vox forensis. Cf. Apolog. cap. 1: *quam iniquitatem idem titulus et onerat et revincit qui videtur excusare, ignorantia scilicet.* Ad Natt. I. 2: *Credo, non vultis oneratos, quos omni opere perditos vultis, aut non putatis requirenda quæ nostis.* Ibid. I. 10: *Quo magis oneramini credentes esse et contemnentes, colentes et despuentes, honorantes et lacessentes.*' OEHL.

C. XXVI. dominis servire. Quid luci cum tenebris? quid vitæ et morti?

2 Cor. vi. 14.

CAP. XXVII.

We ought to avoid these hotbeds of corruption, even though the devil seasons his poison with some show of excellence.

Odisse debemus istos conventus et cœtus ethnicorum, vel quod illic nomen Dei blasphematur, illic quotidiani in nos leones expostulantur, inde persecutiones decernuntur, inde tentationes emittuntur. Quid facies in illo suffragiorum impiorum æstuario deprehensus? Non quasi aliquid illic pati possis ab hominibus (nemo te cognoscit Christianum), sed recogita quid de te fiat in cœlo. Dubitas enim illo momento, quo diabolus in ecclesia furit[1], omnes angelos prospicere de cœlo et singulos denotare, quis blasphemiam dixerit, quis audierit, quis linguam, quis aures diabolo adversus Deum ministraverit? Non ergo fugies sedilia hostium Christi, illam cathedram pestilentiarum, ipsumque aerem, qui desuper incubat, scelestis vocibus constupratum? Sint dulcia licebit et grata et simplicia, etiam honesta quædam. Nemo venenum temperat felle et elleboro, sed conditis pulmentis et bene saporatis et plurimum dulcibus id mali injicit. Ita et diabolus letale, quod conficit, rebus Dei gratissi-

Psal. 1. 1.

Ch. XXVII. [1] *quo diabolus in ecclesia furit.* Thus Cod. Ag. Rig. from Ursinus *ecclesiam.* Gangn. *quod in diaboli ecclesiam fueris,* but in the margin is the reading of the text. Gel. and Pam. *quo in diaboli ecclesia fueris.*

[2] *de lucunculo.* Gangn. *delivacunculo.* Gel. and Pam. *de libacunculo.* In Cod. Ag. this part of the chapter is wanting. Rig. from Ursinus, *de ranunculo.* 'Ut si quis favum mellis una cum ranæ rubetæ pulmonibus exprimat. Nam inde confusa veneno mella stillabunt, mella quidem sed venenata.' For the habit of extracting poison from toads, see Juv. Sat. I. 69. *lucunculo* is adopted by Junius, Scaliger, and Oehler. *lucunculus* is the dimin. of *lucuns,* 'a savoury dish,' from γλυκὺς. Apul. Met. X. 13: *hic panes, lucunculos, hamos, lacertulos, et complura scitamenta mellita.*

Ch. XXVIII. [1] *convivæ sui,* sc. *diaboli.* On the use of *sui,* see

mis et acceptissimis imbuit. Omnia illic seu fortia, seu honesta, seu sonora, seu canora, seu subtilia proinde habe ac si stillicidia mellis de lucunculo[2] venenato, nec tanti gulam facias voluptatis, quanti periculum per suavitatem.

CAP. XXVII.

CAP. XXVIII.

These are the pleasures of the heathen, our pleasures are yet to come.

Saginentur ejusmodi dulcibus convivæ sui[1]. Et loca et templa et invitator ipsorum est. Nostræ cœnæ, nostræ nuptiæ nondum sunt. Non possumus cum illis discumbere, quia nec illi nobiscum. Vicibus disposita res est. Nunc illi lætantur, nos conflictamur. Sæculum, inquit, gaudebit, vos tristes eritis. Lugeamus ergo[2] dum ethnici gaudent, ut cum lugere cœperint, gaudeamus, ne pariter nunc gaudentes, tunc quoque pariter lugeamus. Delicatus es, Christiane, si et in sæculo voluptatem concupiscis, immo nimium stultus, si hos existimas voluptatem. Philosophi quidem[3] hoc nomen quieti et tranquillitati dederunt, in ea gaudent, in ea avocantur, in ea etiam gloriantur. Tu mihi metas et scenas et pulverem et arenam suspiras. Dicas velim: Non possumus vivere sine voluptate, qui mori cum voluptate debebimus? Nam quod est aliud votum

Joh. xvi. 20.

above, c. 15, n. 4, *casibus suis*. De Idol. c. 13, *suum jam volumen complevimus*. Drakenb. on Sil. It. XII. 33, quotes Cic. Ep. Fam. XI. 11: *Ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti*. Senec. I. controv. in præfat.: *Nihil illo viro gravius, nihil suavius, nihil eloquentia sua dignius.*

[2] *Lugeamus ergo.* Comp. De Idol. c. 13; De Cor. c. 13.

[3] *Philosophi quidem.* The Epicureans. This was the favourite philosophy among the Romans in the time of Tertullian. Lact. D. I. III. 17: *Epicuri disciplina multo celebrior semper fuit quam ceterorum, non quia veri aliquid afferat, sed quia multos populare nomen voluptatis invitat.* Cic. de Fin. I. 11: *Omnis autem privatione doloris putat Epicurus terminari summam voluptatem.* Apolog. c. 38: *Licuit Epicureis aliquam decernere voluptatis veritatem. Quo vos offendimus, si alias præsumimus voluptates?* Comp. Ad Natt. II. 2.

CAP. XXVIII.

Phil. i. 23.

nostrum, quam quod et apostoli, exire de sæculo et recipi apud Dominum? Hic voluptas, ubi et votum.

CAP. XXIX.

Nay, even in this world we have our pleasures, and our shows.

Rom. v. 10.

Rom. vi. 10.

1 Cor. xv. 52.

Jam nunc si putas delectamentis exigere spatium hoc, cur tam ingratus es, ut tot et tales voluptates a Deo contributos tibi satis non habeas neque recognoscas? Quid enim jucundius, quam Dei patris et domini reconciliatio, quam veritatis revelatio, quam errorum recognitio, quam tantorum retro[1] criminum venia? Quæ major voluptas, quam fastidium ipsius voluptatis, quam sæculi totius contemptus, quam vera libertas, quam conscientia integra, quam vita sufficiens, quam mortis timor nullus? Quod calcas deos nationum, quod dæmonia expellis[2], quod medicinas facis, quod revelationes petis[3], quod Deo vivis, hæ voluptates, hæc spectacula Christianorum sancta, perpetua, gratuita. In his tibi Circenses ludos[4] interpretare, cursus sæculi intuere, tempora labentia, spatia dinumera, metas consummationis expecta, societates ecclesiarum defende, ad signum Dei suscitare, ad tubam angeli erigere, ad martyrii palmas gloriare. Si scenicæ doctrinæ

Ch. XXIX. [1] *retro*, 'in time past.' Apolog. c. 1, *neminem pœnitet nisi plane retro non fuisse*. Ibid. c. 3, *quos retro noverant*, and *retro patiens*. Ibid. c. 19, *retrosiores*. Idol. c. 3, *aliquamdiu retro*.

[2] *dæmonia expellis*. Apol. c. 23: *Ædatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille tam se dæmonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi deum de falso*. The power over demons, together with extraordinary revelations, is mentioned by Arnobius as common to all Christians. Arnob. I. p. 27: *qui* [Christus] *justissimis viris etiamnunc impollutis ac diligentibus sese, non per vana insomnia, sed per puræ speciem simplicitatis, apparet; cujus nomen auditum fugat noxios spiritus*.

[3] *revelationes petis*. The allusion to *revelations* and the *new Jerusalem* has been thought to savour of Montanism. Kaye's Tertul. p. 55.

delectant, satis nobis litterarum est, satis versuum est, satis sententiarum, satis etiam canticorum, satis vocum, nec fabulæ, sed veritates, nec strophæ[5], sed simplicitates. Vis et pugillatus et luctatus? Præsto sunt non parva, sed multa. Aspice impudicitiam detectam a castitate, perfidiam cæsam a fide, sævitiam a misericordia contusam, petulantiam a modestia obumbratam, et tales sunt apud nos agones, in quibus ipsi coronamur. Vis autem et sanguinis aliquid? Habes Christi. CAP. XXIX.

CAP. XXX.

The day of judgement shall afford us the most glorious spectacle in the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the good.

Quale autem spectaculum in proximo est adventus Domini jam indubitati, jam superbi, jam triumphantis! quæ illa exsultatio angelorum, quæ gloria resurgentium sanctorum! quale regnum exinde justorum! qualis civitas nova Hierusalem! At enim supersunt alia spectacula, ille ultimus et perpetuus judicii dies, ille nationibus insperatus, ille derisus, cum tanta sæculi vetustas et tot ejus nativitates[1] uno igni haurientur. Quæ tunc spectaculi latitudo! quid admirer? quid videam? ubi gaudeam? ubi exsultem, spectans tot ac tantos reges, qui in cœlum recepti nuntiabantur, cum ipso Jove et ipsis suis testibus in imis tenebris congemiscentes! item præ-

Apoc. v. 10, & xx. 5.
Apoc. xxi. 2.
2 Pet. iii. 10.

But the topics are common to all Christians, and it is likely that they may have taken early hold on Tertullian's mind.

[4] *Circenses ludos.* Observe the terms *cursus*, *metas*, *spatia*, *societates* (factiones), *signum* (mappa), *tuba*, *palma*.

[5] *strophæ.* 'Sunt technæ et fraudes, quales in fabulis mimicis. Ad Natt. I. 10, *deos vestros in strophis et jocis rideatis.* Apol. c. 15, *utrum mimos an deos vestros in strophis et jocis derideatis.* De Anima, c. 28, *qui talem commentus est stropham.*' Oehl.

Ch. XXX. [1] *tot ejus nativitates.* Dodgs. 'all that are rising into life.' More probably allusion is made to the Platonic notion of successive mundane revolutions. See Plat. Timæ. p. 22, sqq. For the use of *nativitas*, comp. Arnob. I. p. 3: *Ipsi homines, quos per inhabitabiles oras terræ sparsit prima incipiensque nativitas.*

CAP. XXX.

sides persecutores Dominici nominis sævioribus quam ipsi flammis sævierunt insultantibus contra Christianos liquescentes! quos præterea sapientes illos philosophos coram discipulis suis una conflagrantibus erubescentes, quibus nihil ad Deum pertinere[2] suadebant, quibus animas aut nullas[3] aut non in pristina corpora redituras affirmabant! etiam poetas non ad Rhadamanthi, nec ad Minois, sed ad inopinati Christi tribunal palpitantes! Tunc magis tragœdi audiendi, magis scilicet vocales in sua propria calamitate; tunc histriones cognoscendi, solutiores multo per ignem; tunc spectandus auriga in flammea rota totus rubens[4]; tunc xystici contemplandi non in gymnasiis, sed in igne jaculati, nisi quod ne tunc quidem illos velim visos, ut qui malim ad eos potius conspectum insatiabilem conferre, qui in Dominum desævierunt. Hic est ille,
Psal. ii. 1, 2. dicam, fabri aut quæstuariæ[5] filius, sabbati destructor, Samarites, et dæmonium habens. Hic est,
Joh. v. 18. Joh. viii. 48. quem a Juda redemistis, hic est ille arundine et colaphis diverberatus, sputamentis dedecoratus, felle et aceto potatus. Hic est, quem clam dis-

[2] *nihil ad Deum pertinere.* Lact. D. I. III. 17: *Irreligiosus audit* (de Epicuro) *Deos nihil curare.* Arnobius, who is in many points unsound, is constantly recurring to this heathen notion. Lactantius seems to have written his De Ira expressly to controvert the opinions of his master on this point.

[3] *animas aut nullas.* See the question of the reunion of the soul to the body, argued Apol. c. 48.

[4] *totus rubens,* alluding to the colours of the race. Observe the terms *vocales* (see above, c. 25), *solutiores* (c. 10), *rubens* (c. 23).

[5] *fabri aut quæstuariæ,* alluding to the Jewish blasphemy as to our Lord's birth. S. Jerome to Heliodorus, Ep. XIV. (quoted by Oehler): *Hic est ille operarii et quæstuariæ filius, hic qui matris gestatus sinu hominem Deus fugit in Ægyptum, hic vestitus coccino, hic sentibus coronatus, hic magus dæmonium habens et Samarites.*

centes surripuerunt, ut resurrexisse dicatur, vel hortulanus detraxit, ne lactucæ suæ frequentia commeantium læderentur. Ut talia spectes[6], ut talibus exsultes, quis tibi prætor aut consul aut quæstor aut sacerdos de sua liberalitate præstabit? Et tamen hæc jam quodammodo habemus per fidem spiritu imaginante repræsentata. Ceterum qualia illa sunt, quæ nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt? Credo, Circo et utraque cavea[7] et omni stadio gratiora.

CAP. XXX.

Matt. xxvii. 64. & xxviii. 13.

1 Cor. ii. 9.

[6] *ut talia spectes.* We cannot defend the spirit in which Tertullian exults in the prospect of the destruction of the wicked. See a note in the Oxf. Trans. Minucius Felix (Octav. c. 37) has a much more Christian account of a Christian spectacle in the sufferings of martyrs for Christ. S. Augustine (Enarr. in Psalm. 39) reproves a Christian audience for taking delight in the popular shows, and contrasts the *spectacula* fit for a Christian. *Miracula hominum intuebatur, intendat mirabilia Dei. Multa fecit Dominus mirabilia sua, hæc respiciat.* The whole passage is worth consulting as shewing the habits of society, and the sentiments of Christians as to these points in the fourth century.

[7] *utraque cavea.* Theatre and amphitheatre. Gangn. *caula.* Lips. de Amph. p. 14, quotes the passage with *caula,* adding 'si vera lectio est.'

TERTULLIANI LIBER

DE IDOLOLATRIA.

TERTULLIANI LIBER
DE IDOLOLATRIA.

CAP. I.

Idolatry is the chief crime of mankind. It includes in it murder, theft, adultery, and the like; and every crime is dæmon-service, and therefore idolatry.

PRINCIPALE crimen generis humani, summus sæculi reatus, tota causa judicii idololatria. Nam etsi suam speciem tenet unumquodque delictum, etsi suo quoque nomine judicio destinatur, in idololatriæ tamen crimine expungitur[1]. Omitte titulos[2], operas recognosce, idololatres idem homicida est. Quæris quem occiderit? Si quid ad elogii ambitionem facit[3], non extraneum, nec inimicum, sed seipsum. Quibus insidiis? erroris sui. Quo telo? offensa Dei. Quot plagis? quotquot idololatriis. Qui negat idololatrem perisse, is negabit idololatrem homicidium fecisse. Proinde adulterium et stuprum in eodem recognoscas; nam

Ch. I. [1] *expungitur*, 'is disposed of under the charge of idolatry.' On *expungere*, see De Cor. c. 1, n. 4.

[2] *titulos*, 'the special names of the several crimes;' e. g. *homicidium*, *stuprum*, &c. La Cerda quotes Suet. Cal. c. 32: *Servum, ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam, carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscissis atque ante pectus a collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo, qui causam pœnæ indicaret, per cœtus circumduceretur.* Below, c. 11, *titulo idololatriæ*.

[3] *Si quid ad elogii...* 'if it helps to complete the charge, [I answer].' *elogium*, 'the summary of an accusation.' De Cor. c. 5: *elogium sacrilegii in Deum*. De Jejun. c. 17: *Ad elogium gulæ tuæ pertinet, quod* etc. La Cerda quotes Sueton. Cal. c. 27: *Custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantummodo intra porticum mediam, a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit. Ambitio*, 'the compass;' De Jejun. c. 17, *ambitio corporis*; De Anim. c. 25, *tota ventris ambitio. Ambitio elogii* is 'the accusation set out to its full extent,' including all the particulars, *quem? quibus insidiis? quo telo? quot plagis?* Comp. Ad Natt. 1. 2: *Porro de nobis, quos atrocioribus ac pluribus criminibus deputatis, breviora ac leviora elogia conficitis.*

CAP. I. qui falsis deis servit, sine dubio adulter est veritatis, quia omne falsum adulterium est. Sic et in stupro mergitur. Quis enim immundis spiritibus operatus, non conspurcatus et constupratus incedit? Atque adeo Scripturæ sanctæ stupri vocabulo[4] utuntur in idololatriæ exprobratione. Fraudis conditio ea est, opinor, si quis alienum rapiat aut alii debitum deneget, et utique erga hominem admissa fraus maximi criminis nomen est. At enim idololatria fraudem Deo facit, honores illi suos denegans et conferens aliis, ut fraudi etiam contumeliam conjungat. Quod si tam fraus quam stuprum atque adulterium mortem afferunt, jam in his æque idololatria de homicidii reatu non liberatur. Post talia crimina, tam exitiosa, tam devoratoria salutis, cetera quoque ad aliquem modum et seorsum proinde disposita in idololatria conditionem[5] suam repræsentant. In illa et concupiscentiæ sæculi. Quæ enim idololatriæ sollemnitas sine ambitione cultus et ornatus? In illa lasciviæ et ebrietates, cum plurimum victus et ventris et

[4] *stupri vocabulo.* Comp. Ezek. c. xxiii; Hos. c. ii. and iv; and elsewhere.

[5] *conditionem.* Adv. Marc. II. c. 22: *longe diversas habendo causas ab idololatriæ conditione. Repræsentare*, a judicial term, 'to bring into court;' hence, 'to bring before us, whether to our senses or minds.' Adv. Marc. IV. c. 22: *Itaque jam repræsentans eum: Hic est filius meus.* De Pœn. c. 3: *adeo quod prohibetur administrare, satis periculose animus sibi repræsentat.* De Cor. c. 15: *Si tales imagines in visione, quales veritates in repræsentatione?* De Spect. c. 17: *spurcitiam quam Atellanus gesticulator repræsentat.* Ibid. c. 30: *hæc jam quodammodo habemus per fidem spiritu imaginante repræsentata.* Adv. Marc. I. c. 14: *nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat.* On the last passage see Bp. Kaye's Tertull. p. 427. Even Bellarmine allows that it is not *conclusive* for the corporal presence.

[6] *mendacium.* Comp. Is. xliv. 20.

[7] *idolorum mancipes,* 'those demons who take possession of idols.' Apolog. c. 11: *mancipem divinitatis.*

CAP. I.

libidinis causa frequententur. In illa injustitia. Quid enim injustius ea quæ justitiæ patrem nescit? In illa etiam vanitas, cum tota ejus ratio vana sit. In illa mendacium[6], cum tota substantia mendax sit. Ita fit ut omnia in idololatria et in omnibus idololatria deprehendatur. Sed et alias, cum universa delicta adversus Deum sapiant, nihil autem quod adversus Deum sapiat, non dæmoniis et immundis spiritibus deputetur quibus idola mancipantur; sine dubio idololatriam admittit quicumque delinquit. Id enim facit quod ad idolorum mancipes[7] pertinet.

CAP. II.

Idolatry consists not only in the acts of sacrificing, burning incense, and the like, but has a more extended application.

Sed universa[1] nomina criminum discedant in operum suorum proprietates, remaneat idololatria in eo quod ipsa est, sufficit sibi tam inimicum Deo nomen, tam locuples substantia criminis, quæ tot ramos porrigit, tot venas defundit[2], ut de hoc cum maxime materia suscepta sit, quot modis nobis præcavenda sit idololatriæ latitudo, quoniam multifariam servos Dei nec tantum ignorata, sed etiam dissimulata subvertit. Plerique idololatriam simpliciter existimant his solis modis interpretandam,

De Spect. c. 10: *Apollines mancipes habent.* Ad Natt. II. 2: *auctoritas philosophorum, ut mancipium sapientiæ.* Comp. below, c. 13: *humanæ superstitionis deis mancipatæ;* and De Spect. c. 12: *In mortuorum idolis dæmonia consistunt.* See below, c. 15, n. 8.

Ch. II. [1] *Sed universa...* 'But let the general denominations of sins pass, and let them be arranged each under the special head denoted by its act; let idolatry be confined to that which is specially idolatry; there is enough in a name so hostile to God, in so extensive a ground for accusation, that puts forth so many branches, descends into so many channels, that from this head chiefly has my theme been taken up, to shew in how many ways we must take precautions against the whole extent of idolatry.'

[2] *defundit.* Rig. from conj. *diffundit.* La Cerda quotes S. Cypr. De Patient. p. 253 (Ed. Bened.): *Late patet Patientiæ virtus, et ubertas ejus et largitas de unius quidem nominis fonte proficiscitur, sed exundantibus venis per multa gloriarum itinera diffunditur.*

CAP. II. si quis aut incendat aut immolet aut polluceat[3] aut sacris aliquibus aut sacerdotiis obligetur, quemadmodum si quis adulterium in osculis et in amplexibus et in ipsa carnis congressione censendum, aut homicidium in sola sanguinis profusione, et in animæ ereptione reputandum. At enim, Dominus quam extensius ista disponat, certi sumus, cum adulterium etiam in concupiscentia designat, si oculum quis impegerit libidinose et animam commoverit impudice, cum homicidium etiam in verbo maledicti vel convicii judicat et in omni impetu iræ et in negligentia caritatis in fratrem. Sicut Johannes docet homicidam esse qui oderit fratrem. Alioquin in modico consisteret et diaboli ingenium de malitia et Dei Domini disciplina, qua nos adversus diaboli altitudines[4] munit, si in his tantum delictis judicaremur, quæ etiam nationes decreverunt vindicanda. Quomodo abundabit justitia nostra super Scribas et Pharisæos, ut Dominus præscripsit, nisi abundantiam adversariæ ejus, id est injustitiæ, perspexerimus? Quod si caput injustitiæ idololatria est, prius est, uti adversus abundantiam idololatriæ præmuniamur, dum illam non solum in manifestis recognoscimus.

Matt. v. 22. Matt. v. 28. 1 Joh. iii. 15. Apoc. ii. 24. Matt. v. 20.

CAP. III. Idolum aliquamdiu retro non erat. Priusquam hujus monstri artifices ebullissent, sola templa et vacuæ ædes erant, sicut in hodiernum quibusdam locis vetustatis vestigia permanent. Tamen idolo-

Idolatry existed before images, but derived from them its name and growth. Idol-

[3] *polluceat.* Apol. c. 39: *Herculanarum decimarum et polluctorum sumptus tabularii supputabunt.* Plaut. Stich. 1, 3, 80: *Hæc venisse jam opus est, quantum potest, Uti decumam partem Herculi polluceam.*

[4] *altitudines.* Revel. ii. 24: τὰ βάθεα τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Vulg. *altitudines Satanæ.*

Ch. III. [1] *omnis forma vel for-*

latria agebatur, non in isto nomine, sed in isto opere. Nam et hodie extra templum et sine idolo agi potest. At ubi artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum diabolus sæculo intulit, rude illud negotium humanæ calamitatis et nomen de idolis consecutum est et profectum. Exinde jam caput facta est idololatriæ ars omnis quæ idolum quoquo modo edit. Neque enim interest an plastes effingat, an cælator exsculpat, an phrygio detexat, quia nec de materia refert an gypso, an coloribus, an lapide, an ære, an argento, an filo formetur idolum. Quando enim et sine idolo idololatria fiat, utique, cum adest idolum, nihil interest, quale sit, qua de materia, qua de effigie, ne qui putet id solum idolum habendum, quod humana effigie sit consecratum. Ad hoc necessaria est vocabuli interpretatio. Εἶδος Græce formam sonat; ab eo per deminutionem εἴδωλον deductum æque apud nos formulam fecit. Igitur omnis forma vel formula[1] idolum se dici exposcit. Inde idololatria omnis circa omne idolum famulatus et servitus. Inde et omnis idoli artifex ejusdem et unius est criminis, nisi parum idololatriam populus admisit qui simulacrum vituli et non hominis sibi consecravit.

CAP. III. atry is service performed to any image, whatever it may represent.

Exod. xxxii. 8.

Idolum tam fieri quam coli Deus prohibet. Quanto præcedit, ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est, ne fiat, si coli non licet[1]. Propter hanc

CAP. IV. God condemns both image-worshippers and image-makers.

mula. Arnob. Adv. Gent. VI. init. p. 189: *In hac enim consuestis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque ædes sacras ad venerationis officia construamus, non Deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus aut formam*, etc. Herald. in Arnob. VI. p. 194, adduces numerous passages to the same effect.

Ch. IV. [1] *Quanto præcedit...*

CAP. IV. causam, ad eradicandam scilicet materiam idololatriæ, lex divina proclamat, Ne feceritis idolum, et conjungens, Neque similitudinem eorum quæ in cœlo sunt et quæ in terra et quæ in mari, toto mundo ejusmodi artibus interdixit[2] servis Dei. Antecesserat Enoch[3] prædicens omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum[4], quæ cœlo, quæ mari, quæ terra continentur, in idololatriam versuros dæmonas et spiritus desertorum angelorum, ut pro Deo adversus Dominum consecrarentur. Omnia igitur colit humanus error præter ipsum omnium conditorem. Eorum imagines idola, imaginum consecratio idololatria. Quicquid idololatria committit, in artificem quemcumque et cujuscumque idoli depu-

Exod. xx. 4. Lev. xxvi. 1. Deut. v. 8.

Jud. 6.

'As a thing must first be made before it can be worshipped, so a thing must be first forbidden to be made, if it may not be worshipped.' La Cerda has a curious note upon this passage: 'Locus notatissimus, ut scias nunquam jure naturali prohibitas imagines veri Dei. Itaque ab omni ævo ab ipso Adamo potuit fieri imago Dei ut coleretur. Hujus sententiæ laudandus Tertullianus hoc loco: paritatem enim temporis in utraque constituit. Sicut nullo ævo potuit fieri quod non potuit coli, ita omni ævo potuit fieri, quod potuit coli. An vero jure scripto id vetitum Judæis, dissident doctores duo ævi hujus gravissimi: Vasquius affirmat prohibitum, Soarius negat; postremo hæreo ego tantulus.' A truly notable deduction from such a chapter as this!

[2] *toto mundo*, 'absolutely.' *interdixit*, with dat. of the person, and abl. of the thing. Cic. Ep. Fam. XI. Ep. 1: *Futurum puto, ut hostes judicemur, aut aqua et igni nobis interdicatur.* De Cor. c. 7: *nostro capiti coronamentis interdicunt.*

[3] *Enoch.* Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Gel. *enim hoc. Enoch* was first read by Pamel. who is followed by Rig. and Oehl. The book of Enoch is quoted below, c. 15, and De Cult. Fœm. I. 3, where Tertul. says that it was rejected by some, *quia nec in armarium Judaicum admittitur.* Tertul. accepts it on the grounds of its being quoted by Jude, and because we are told, *omnem scripturam ædificationi habitem divinitus inspirari,* a singular interpretation of 2 Tim. iii. 16. Origen and Jerome both mention it as of doubtful authority. It was, according to Abp. Laurence, a book extant among the Jews before our Lord's time. See note in Oxford Translation.

[4] *omnem mundi censum,* 'the whole order of the universe.' It is common to interpret *census* by *origo,* and *censeri* by *originem habere,* in

CAP. IV.

tetur necesse est. Denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione prædamnat. Et rursus; Juro vobis peccatores, quod in diem sanguinis perditionis[5] pœnitentia parata est. Qui servitis lapidibus, et qui imagines facitis aureas et argenteas et ligneas et lapideas et fictiles, et servitis phantasmatibus et dæmoniis et spiritibus in fanis, et omnibus erroribus non secundum scientiam, nullum ab iis invenietis auxilium. Esaias Es. xliv. 8. vero, Testes, ait, vos estis, si est deus absque me. Et non erant tunc qui fingunt et exsculpunt, omnes vani, qui faciunt libita sibi, quæ illis non proderunt[6]. Et deinceps tota illa pronuntiatio quam artifices, quam cultores[7] detestatur. Cujus clausula est,

many passages of Tertul.: but the idea of derivation is in such passages contained, not in *census* or *censeri*, but in the context. The Latin words correspond very nearly to 'reckoning,' 'to be reckoned,' e.g. De Spect. c. 7: *splendida est censu criminis sui.* De Cor. c. 13: *in solo quoque censu coronarum.* Apolog. c. 7: *Census istius disciplinæ a Tiberio est.* 'We may reckon Christianity from Tiberius.' So ibid. c. 12: *inde censentur dei vestri.* De Cor. c. 10: *ex originis censu.* Ad Natt. I. 12: *omne omnino genus censum ad originem refert, quantoque genus censetur ordine, tanto origo convenitur in genere.* Hence *census* is 'the class, rank, or order in which any person or thing is reckoned.' Arnob. IV. p. 127: *Superorum retuleritis in censum.* Ad Natt. II. 1: *Triplici autem genere deorum censum distinxit.* De Virg. Vel. c. 4: *Et si mundum dixeris, illic erit et cœlum et quæ in eo, sol et luna et sidera et astra et terra et freta, omnis census elementorum.* De Virg. Vel. c. 11: *censum naturæ suæ intrare, et de virginis exire, et pati novum illud quod alterius ætatis est.*

[5] *sanguinis perditionis,* 'of a bloody destruction.' Blood is mentioned as a sign of the last day in Joel ii. 30, quoted by St Peter, Acts ii. 19.

[6] *Testes*...Bos reads in the LXX.: μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς ἐστε, εἰ ἔστι Θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τότε. οἱ πλάσσοντες καὶ οἱ γλύφοντες πάντες μάταιοι, ποιοῦντες τὰ καταθύμια αὐτῶν, ἃ οὐκ ὠφελήσει αὐτούς. But he notes, '*Hanc lectionem probat Cyrill.* Sic quoque est apud Proc. Sed Alex. Ald. c. ἦσαν.'

[7] *quam artifices quam cultores.* Thus in Cod. Ag. The rest *qua in ...qua in; quam...quam* for *tam... quam.* Gronovius considered all the passages, in which *quam...quam* occurs for *tam...quam,* as corrupt. Oehler quotes Ad Natt. I. 10, *nisi contemneret, quos dejeraret, quam ipse, quam ii, qui ei pejerare permittunt.* Ibid. *De contemptu uti-*

CAP. IV. Cognoscite, quod cinis sit cor illorum et terra, et
Es. xliv. 20. nemo animam suam liberare possit[8]. Ubi æque
Ps. cxv. 8. David et factores. Tales fiant, inquit, qui faciunt ea. Et quid ego, modicæ memoriæ homo, ultra quid suggeram? quid recolam de Scripturis? Quasi aut non sufficiat vox Spiritus Sancti, aut ultra deliberandum sit, an maledixerit atque damnaverit Dominus ipsos prius artifices eorum, quorum cultores maledicit et damnat!

CAP. V. Some plead necessity; but this is subject to God's law. Some plead Scripture, but this is a perversion of it. The case of the brazen serpent was exceptional.

Plane impensius respondebimus ad excusationes hujusmodi artificum, quos nunquam in domum Dei[1] admitti oportet, si quis eam disciplinam norit. Jam illa objici solita vox, Non habeo aliud quo vivam, districtius[2] repercuti potest. Vivere ergo habes. Quid tibi cum Deo est, si tuis legibus[3]? Tum quod et de Scripturis audent argumentari, dixisse
1 Cor. vii. 20. apostolum, Ut quisque fuerit inventus, ita per-

que censentur probra, quam eorum qui ejusmodi factitant, quam eorum qui ista suscipiunt. Below, c. 18: *quam dignitatis, quam potestatis.* S. Cypr. ad Donat. p. 2. ed. Oxon.: *quam ore, quam mente totus auditor es.* So Oehl. But Ed. Bened. p. 1, reads, *Tam aure, quam mente.* In the Oxf. Ed. 1682, this Epistle is omitted altogether.

[8] *Cognoscite*... LXX. *γνῶθι ὅτι σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν, καὶ πλανῶνται, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐξελέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν.* Vulg. *Pars ejus cinis est, cor insipiens adoravit illud et nemo liberavit animam suam.* La Cerda wishing to make Tertul. agree with the Vulg. explains *cor illorum* as 'the heart of the idols,' but Tertul. quotes as usual from the LXX. This has led to a conject. *et errant* for *et terra,* to correspond to *καὶ πλανῶνται,* but Tertul. does not always quote accurately. See below, c. 23, n. 9. Comp. Wisd. xv. 10: *σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ, καὶ γῆς εὐτελεστέρα ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτοῦ, πηλοῦ τε ἀτιμότερος ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ.*

Ch. V. [1] *domum Dei,* 'the household or family of God,' as 1 Tim. iii. 15, *οἶκος Θεοῦ,* not as in c. 7, 'the building.' One of the earliest canons prescribed, 'If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected.' Constit. Apost. in Bunsen's Hippol. Vol. III. p. 6; Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 5, 6.

[2] *districtius,* 'h. e. accuratius, promptius, severius. Cassian. Collat. VIII. 1: *Pro abstinentia districtiori blande solet ac latenter irrepere.* Id. VIII. 3: *districtissimi monachorum.* Cod. Theodos. I. 11, 3 (de def. civ.): *probatissimi quique et districtissimi defensores.* Ibid. XVI.

severet. Possumus igitur omnes in peccatis perseverare ex ista interpretatione. Nec enim quisquam nostrum non peccator inventus est, cum Christus non alia ex causa descenderit, quam peccatorum liberandorum. Item eundem præcepisse dicunt secundum suum exemplum, ut manibus suis unusquisque operetur ad victum. Si hoc præceptum ab omnibus manibus defenditur, credo et fures balneatores manibus suis vivere, et ipsos latrones manibus agere quo vivant, item falsarios utique non pedibus, sed manibus operari malas litteras, histriones vero non manibus solis, sed totis membris[4] victum elaborare. Pateat igitur ecclesia omnibus, qui manibus et suo opere tolerantur, si nulla exceptio[5] est artium quas Dei disciplina non recipit. Sed ait quidam adversus similitudinis interdictæ propositionem, Cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis[6] ex ære fecit? Seorsum figuræ,

CAP. V.

1 Tim. i. 15.

1 Thess. iv. 11.

Numb. xxi. 9.

2, 40 (de episc. eccl.): *districta moderatione præscribere.* Ibid. x. 10, 3 (de petit.): *severitatem districtam.* Hieronym. Epist. xxii: *districtius vivere.* Ulpian. Digest. iii. 3, 13: *neque districte deneganda.* Ibid. iv. 8, 15: *licet prætor districte edicat.* Cassian. Collat. i. 7: *sollemnitatem nostræ districtionis non poterimus implere.'* Oehl.

[3] *vivere ergo habes?...* 'To live then is yours. But if it is to live by your own laws, you have nothing to do with God.' The idol-maker pleads, I have only my trade to live by. Tertul. answers, To live is not all—you must live by God's law, if you are to have any portion in God. *vivere habes*, as ζῆν ἔχεις, for *vitam habes.* Apul. Apol. c. 28: *habeam dicere.* Prudent. Adv. Symm. ii. 795: *nec habent discernere dispar Viventum meritum.* Oehl. on De Fuga in Persec. c. 12, quotes from Tertul. Apolog. c. 22, *habent sapere.* De Hab. Mul. c. 1, *mori habuit,* and many other instances.

[4] *totis membris.* Comp. De Spect. c. 17: *quam denique pantomimus a pueritia patitur in corpore, ut artifex esse possit.* Plin. Ep. vii. 24: *cursitabant, exsultabant, mirabantur, ac deinde singulos gestus dominæ cum canticis edebant.*

[5] *exceptio,* 'a class or subdivision.' Arnob. vii. p. 220: *Si modo Dii veri sunt, atque in nominis hujus exceptione ponendi.*

[6] *simulacrum serpentis.* Justin Martyr (Tryph. p. 321, E.) and Tertul. (Adv. Judæos, c. 10) explain the brazen serpent as a type of

CAP. V. quæ dispositioni alicui arcanæ præstruebantur, non ad erogationem[7] legis sed ad exemplarium causæ suæ[8]. Alioquin si hæc ut adversarii legis interpretemur, numquid et nos, quod et Marcionitæ[9], inconstantiam ascribimus Omnipotenti, quem illi hoc modo destruunt ut mutabilem, dum alibi vetat, alibi mandat? Si quis autem dissimulat illam effigiem ærei serpentis suspensi in modum figuram designasse dominicæ crucis a serpentibus, id est ab angelis diaboli, liberaturæ nos, dum per semetipsum diabolum, id est serpentem, interfectum suspendit, sive quæ alia figuræ istius expositio dignioribus revelata est, dummodo apostolus affirmet
1 Cor. x. 6. omnia tunc figurate populo accidisse, bene, quod[10] idem Deus, ut[11] lege vetuit similitudinem fieri, extraordinario præcepto serpentis similitudinem interdixit[12]. Si eundem Deum observas, habes legem
Exod. xx. 4. ejus, Ne feceris similitudinem. Si et præceptum

Christ crucified. Tertul. Adv. Marc. II. c. 22, says also that in this case there was no idolatry, because it was not set up for worship or reverence, but to heal those who were stricken with the plague.

[7] *erogationem*. Junius from conject. *derogationem*, the proper legal term; but Tertul. often uses *erogare*, 'to waste, consume, destroy.' See De Spect. c. 12, n. 6.

[8] *ad exemplarium causæ suæ*, 'as an emblem of that which causeth them to be made.' Dodgson. *causa* is the thing signified, the crucified Saviour, of which the serpent was the type. So Adv. Marc. II. c. 22: *Proinde et similitudinem vetans fieri omnium...ostendit et causas idololatriæ scilicet substantiam cohibentes.*

[9] *Marcionitæ*. Adv. Marc. II. c. 21: *Sic et in ceteris contrarietates præceptorum ei exprobras ut mobili et instabili.*

[10] *bene quod*. Below, c. 15, *bene quod apposuit;* and c. 23, *bene quod Dominus dixit.* Oehl. quotes Apolog. c. 7: *bene autem, quod tempus omnia revelat.* De Jejun. c. 13: *bene autem, quod et episcopi universæ plebi jejunia mandare assolent.*

[11] *ut*. The MSS. read *et*. Pam. and Rig. *qui*. Junius retains *et*, and inserts *et* before *extraordinario*. Oehler by conject. *ut*, which is the least variation from the MSS.

[12] *interdixit*. So all the MSS, and early Edd. Rig. from conjec. *indixit*. Latin. *fieri jussit*. Jun. *interduxit*. Dodgson retains *interdixit*,

factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Moysen, ne facias adversus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit. CAP. V.

CAP. VI. Image-makers are image-worshippers.

Si nulla lex Dei prohibuisset idola fieri a nobis, nulla vox Spiritus Sancti fabricatoribus idolorum non minus quam cultoribus comminaretur, de ipso sacramento[1] nostro interpretaremur nobis adversas esse fidei ejusmodi artes. Quomodo enim renuntiavimus diabolo et angelis ejus, si eos facimus? Quod repudium diximus his, non dico cum quibus, sed de quibus vivimus? Quam discordiam suscepimus in eos, quibus exhibitionis[2] nostræ gratia obligati sumus? Potes lingua negasse quod manu confiteris? verbo destruere quod facto struis? unum Deum prædicare qui tantos[3] efficis? verum Deum prædicare qui falsos facis? Facio, ait quidam, sed non colo: quasi ob aliquam causam colere non audeat, nisi ob quam et facere non debebat,

interpreting it, 'interposed his command.' This interpretation is however not supported by examples, and the verb having been so lately used by Tertul. in the usual sense, it is highly improbable he would have introduced it in any other meaning. Oehler explains *interdixit* thus: 'As God by the law forbad the making any likeness, so by an extraordinary precept issued for a particular occasion He expressed a general prohibition of making the likeness of a serpent.' God forbad it in general, when He permitted or enjoined it in particular.

Ch. VI. [1] *sacramentum*, 'baptism.' Comp. De Spect. c. 4 and 24, and De Cor. 3. At the latter passage the Oxf. Transl. collects from the various ancient liturgies the forms of baptismal renunciation, 'of the devil, his works, his pomps, and his angels.' La Cerda refers to a legend of five martyrs who suffered for refusing to make images.

[2] *exhibitionis*, below, c. 8, *necessitas exhibitionis;* c. 12, *necessitatibus humanæ exhibitionis.* De Cor. c. 8, *instrumenta exhibitionis humanæ;* where Oehl. quotes several instances from Ulpian. Digest. One of these, Dig. I. 12, 1, contains the verb, *maxime si ægros se esse dicant, desiderentque a liberis exhiberi.* Hence probably the use of the English word 'exhibition' for a pecuniary allowance.

[3] *tantos*, for *tot*, below, c. 8, *insulæ quantæ.* De Spect. c. 29, *tantorum retro criminum.* Apolog. c. 1, *tanti quanti et deputamur.*

CAP. VI. scilicet ob Dei offensam utrobique. Immo tu colis, qui facis, ut coli possint. Colis autem[4] non spiritu vilissimi nidoris alicujus, sed tui proprio, nec anima pecudis impensa, sed anima tua. Illis ingenium tuum immolas, illis sudorem tuum libas, illis prudentiam tuam accendis. Plus es illis quam sacerdos, cum per te habeant sacerdotem; diligentia tua[5] numen illorum est. Negas te quod facis colere? Sed illi non negant, quibus hanc saginatiorem et auratiorem et majorem[6] hostiam cædis, salutem tuam.

CAP. VII.

How monstrous that Christian worshippers, nay, even Christian ministers, should be engaged in idol-making!

Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit ingemens Christianum ab idolis in ecclesiam[1] venire, de adversaria officina in domum Dei venire, attollere

[4] *colis autem.* Observe the sacrificial terms *nidor, anima pecudis, immolas, libas, accendis, saginatus, auratus, major, hostiam cædere.*

[5] *diligentia tua.* Both Dodgson and Neander (Antignost. p. 228) translate *diligentia* as if it were nomin. It is no doubt abl. 'By your industry their divinity exists.'

[6] *auratiorem et majorem.* The horns of victims were gilded. The bull or cow was called *major hostia,* opposed to *minor hostia,* as the sheep, the goat, &c.

Ch. VII. [1] *ecclesiam.* See De Spect. c. 25, n. 3. Pamelius and La Cerda on this passage have collected thirty-three different names which the buildings set apart for divine service bore. Their object was to prove the existence of peculiar buildings for worship at a very early age. In the names which they bring forward, promiscuously, we observe various classes: 1 referring to the congregation, as *ecclesia, conventicula;* 2 to the sacred character of the place, as *domus Dei, dominicum, sacellum;* 3 to the purpose of meeting, as *oratorium, εὐκτήριον, proseucha;* 4 to the places where they met under persecution, as *martyrium, confessio, cœmeterium, cellæ;* 5 to buildings afterwards given them, as *basilica, templum.* The earlier names imply no more than stated places of meeting, which need not have been permanently secured for that purpose. Indeed, there could scarcely have been more so long as Christianity was at best tolerated. Another class of names refers us to the secret recesses of the catacombs, whither the Christians fled to celebrate in safety their common worship. The terms *basilica* and *templum* remind us how Constantine gave up *basilicæ* (judgment-halls) to the Christians, and how the Christian displaced heathen worship, and often occupied heathen sanctuaries. Tertul. contrasts the Christian place of worship with pagan splendour, Adv. Valent. c. 3: *Nostræ columbæ domus simplex in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. Amat figura*

ad Deum patrem manus matres idolorum, his manibus adorare, quæ foris adversus Deum adorantur[2], eas manus admovere[3] corpori Domini, quæ dæmoniis corpora conficiunt. Nec hoc sufficit. Parum sit, si ab aliis manibus accipiant quod contaminant, sed etiam ipsæ tradunt aliis quod contaminaverunt. Alleguntur in ordinem ecclesiasticum[4] artifices idolorum. Pro scelus! Semel Judæi Christo manus intulerunt, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt. O manus præcidendæ! Viderit[5] jam, an per similitudinem dictum sit, Si te manus tua scandalizat, amputa eam. Quæ magis amputandæ, quam in quibus Domini corpus scandalizatur?

CAP. VII.

Matt. v. 30.

Spiritus Sancti Orientem, Christi figuram. Arnobius (VI. p. 189) would seem to deny the existence of peculiar buildings in his day. See above, c. 3, n. 1. But he is probably referring to buildings like heathen temples, as in p. 190, *templa illis non exstruimus.* In IV. p. 152, he mentions *conventicula, in quibus summus oratur Deus.* Bingham, Christ. Ant. VIII. 1, 1—10, discusses the chief names of the sacred building.

[2] *adorantur*, the hands of artificers are said to be worshipped in their handy-work. Rig. quotes De Resurr. Carn. c. 6: *Phidiæ manus Jovem Olympicum ex ebore molitæ adorantur.*

[3] *eas manus admovere.* Comp. De Cor. c. 3. Bingh. Chr. Ant. XV. 5, 6, brings forward numerous passages to prove the antiquity of receiving the bread *with the hands.* Among them is the address of Ambrose to Theodosius, proving both this custom and that of giving the cup to the laity. The words are very apposite to these of Tertul. Theodoret. V. 18: Ποίοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄψει τοῦ κοινοῦ Δεσπότου νεών; ποίοις δὲ πόσιν τὸ δάπεδον ἐκεῖνο πατήσεις τὸ ἅγιον; πῶς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτενεῖς ἀποσταζούσας ἔτι τοῦ ἀδίκου φόνου τὸ αἷμα; πῶς δὲ τῷ στόματι προσοίσεις τὸ αἷμα τὸ τίμιον, τοσοῦτον διὰ τὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ λόγον ἐκχέας παρανόμως αἷμα; On Tertullian's doctrine of the Eucharist, in reference to the Romanist theory of transubstantiation, see Kaye's Tertull. p. 426, foll.

[4] *ordinem ecclesiasticum.* Special requirements as to morality were from the first exacted of such as should become ecclesiastics. See the Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria, in Bunsen's Hippol. Vol. III. p. 31, foll.; Bingh. Chr. Ant. VI. 2, 1—6.

[5] *viderit.* So Cod. Ag. and Gangn. Later editors altered it into *viderint.* 'Let the Scripture, *If thy hand, &c.*, look to it, whether it be not something more than a mere figure of speech.' On the use of *viderit*, see De Cor. c. 2.

CAP. VIII.

To provide the furniture of idolatry is alike forbidden.

Sunt et aliæ complurium artium species, quæ etsi non contingunt idolorum fabricationem, tamen ea, sine quibus idola nil possunt, eodem crimine expediunt. Nec enim differt, an exstruas vel exornes, si templum, si aram, si ædiculam ejus instruxeris, si bracteam expresseris[1], aut insignia aut etiam domum fabricaveris. Major est ejusmodi opera, quæ non effigiem confert, sed auctoritatem.

Every trade may find innocent employment in supplying the wants of man.

Si ita necessitas exhibitionis extenditur[2], habent[3] et alias species, quæ sine exorbitatione disciplinæ, id est sine idoli confictura, opem victus præstent. Scit albarius tector[4] et tecta sarcire et tectoria inducere et cisternam liare[5] et cymatia[6] distendere et multa alia ornamenta præter simulacra parietibus incrispare. Scit et pictor et marmorarius et ærarius et quicumque cælator latitudines suas[7] utique multo faciliores. Nam qui signum describit, quanto facilius abacum linit! Qui de tilia Martem exsculpit, quanto citius armarium compingit! Nulla ars non alterius artis aut mater aut propinqua est. Nihil alterius vacat[8]. Tot sunt artium venæ, quot hominum concupiscen-

Ch. VIII. [1] *si bracteam expresseris*, 'If you shall have beaten out gold-leaf for the purpose of gilding images.' The context shews that the purpose must be idolatrous, in order to make the act idolatrous.

[2] *extenditur*, 'is stretched so far,' as to authorize idol-making. Rig. from Ursin. *obtenditur*. Below, c. 11, *Graviora quæque delicta pro magnitudine peccati diligentiam extendunt observationis.*

[3] *habent*, sc. artes *habent et alias species.*

[4] *albarius tector*, 'a plasterer.' Oehler quotes Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 23: *Contra in albario opere, ut macerata calx ceu glutinum hæreat.*

[5] *liare*, Gr. λειαίνειν, 'to make smooth' by lining it with cement, or some such material. La C. quotes Apic. v. 1: *Permisces et lias, ut quasi succus videatur.*

[6] *cymatia*, 'mouldings,' projecting and breaking the surface of a building with lines like the ripple of waves. *incrispare*, to put on work in relief. Oehler quotes Plin. N. H.

tiæ. Sed de mercedibus et manus pretiis interest. Proinde interest et de labore. Minor merces frequentiore actu repensatur. Quot parietes signa desiderant! Quot templa et ædes idolis ædificantur! Domus vero et insulæ[9] quantæ! Soccus et baxa quotidie deaurantur, Mercurius et Serapis non quotidie. Sufficiat ad quæstum artificiorum: frequentior est[10] omni superstitione luxuria et ambitio. Lances et scyphos facilius ambitio quam superstitio desiderabit. Coronas quoque magis luxuria, quam sollemnitas erogat. Cum igitur ad hæc artificiorum genera cohortemur, quæ idolum quidem et quæ idolo competunt non attingant, sint autem et hominibus communia sæpe quæ et idolis, hoc quoque cavere debemus, ne quid scientibus nobis ab aliquibus de manibus nostris in rem idolorum postuletur. Quod si concesserimus et non remediis tam usitatis egerimus[11], non puto nos a contagio idololatriæ vacare, quorum manus non ignorantium in officio vel in honore et usu dæmoniorum deprehenduntur. CAP. VIII.

CAP. IX.

Astrology is a profession expressly reprobated in Scripture.

Animadvertimus inter artes etiam professiones

XXXVI. 7, 11, *marmor undatim crispum.*

[7] *latitudines suas*, 'employments within the compass of his art.'

[8] *nihil alterius vacat.* Rig. quotes Hor. A. P. 410: *Alterius sic Altera poscit opem res et conjurat amice.*

[9] *insulæ*, houses in a town, insulated from other buildings, containing under one roof various tenements.

[10] *frequentior est.* Thus in Cod. Ag. and Gangn. Gelenius and Pamelius, *sufficiant...frequentiores.* The subject of *sufficiat* is *frequentiorem esse*, supplied from the sentence which follows.

[11] *si remediis tam usitatis egerimus*, 'if we shall have neglected to act upon precautions so usually adopted.' The case of things manufactured by Christians being applied to idolatrous uses was now so common, that it had given rise to precautions usually adopted by Christians to prevent such misappropriation. Rig. from conject. reads *jam* for *tam.*

CAP. IX. quasdam obnoxias idololatriæ. De astrologis[1] ne loquendum quidem est. Sed quoniam quidam istis diebus[2] provocavit defendens sibi perseverantiam professionis istius, paucis utar. Non allego, quod idola honoret, quorum nomina cœlo inscripsit, quibus omnem Dei potestatem addixit, quod propterea homines non putant Deum requirendum, præsumentes stellarum nos immobili arbitrio[3] agi. Gen. vi. 2. Unum propono, angelos esse illos desertores Dei, amatores feminarum[4], proditores etiam hujus curiositatis, propterea quoque damnatos a Deo. O divina sententia usque ad terram pertinax, cui etiam ignorantes testimonium reddunt! Expelluntur mathematici[5], sicut angeli eorum. Urbs et Italia interdicitur mathematicis, sicut cœlum angelis eorum. Eadem pœna exitii discipulis et magistris. Matt. ii. 1. Sed magi et astrologi ab Oriente venerunt. Scimus magiæ et astrologiæ inter se societatem. Primi igitur stellarum interpretes natum Christum an-

Ch. IX. [1] *astrologis*. The Coptic and Greek constitutions exclude magicians, enchanters, astrologers, diviners, users of magic verses, &c., from admission into the Church. Bunsen's Hippol. Vol. III. p. 7; Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 5, 8.

[2] *istis diebus*, 'in these days.' Apul. Met. I. c. 4, *isto gemino obtutu*.

[3] *immobili arbitrio*. This well-known pagan belief was entertained also by the Pharisees. Bull's Harm. Apost. Diss. Post. XV. 18.

[4] *amatores fœminarum*. This interpretation of Gen. vi. 2, was commonly, but not universally, received by early ecclesiastical writers. See in Oxf. Transl. a note on Apolog. c. 22. Comp. De Orat. c. 22; De Virg. Vel. c. 7; De Spect. c. 4, n. 2.

[5] *Expelluntur mathematici*. Tacitus tells us of decrees *de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis* under Tiberius, A.D. 16 (Annal. 2, 32), and under Claudius, A.D. 53 (Annal. 12, 52); but they were still privately allowed. In A.D. 70 we read, Hist. I. 22, *multos secreta Poppææ mathematicos......habuerant.* And again, Vitellius had to make an edict, A.D. 70, for their expulsion from Italy. Hist. II. 62. Comp. Juv. Sat. VI. 552, where the reliance on *Chaldæi* and *Mathematici* is exposed. *Magia* was forbidden in the XII. Tables, Apul. Apol. c. 47. Apuleius, in his

CAP. IX.

nunciaverunt, primi muneraverunt. Hoc nomine Christum, opinor, sibi obligaverunt. Quid tum? Ideo nunc et mathematicis patrocinabitur illorum magorum religio? De Christo scilicet est mathesis hodie, stellam[6] Christi, non Saturni et Martis et cujusque ex eodem ordine mortuorum[7] observat et prædicat. At enim scientia ista usque ad evangelium fuit concessa, ut Christo edito nemo exinde nativitatem alicujus de cœlo interpretetur. Nam et thus illud et myrrham et aurum ideo infanti tunc Domino obtulerunt, quasi clausulam[8] sacrificationis et gloriæ sæcularis, quam Christus erat ademptururus. Quod igitur iisdem magis somnium sine dubio ex Dei voluntate suggessit, ut irent in sua, sed alia, non qua venerant, via, id est, ne pristina secta sua incederent, non, ne illos Herodes persequeretur, qui nec persecutus est, etiam igno-

Metam. and Apol. shews the extent to which such arts were practised in his day. There is a detailed account of the system of Astrology, and the arts of Magic in the book of Hippolytus published as Origen's Philosophumena (Oxon. 1851,) Book IV.

[6] *stellam.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *stellarum.* Gel. and Pamel. *stellas,* which is probably conjectural. Rig. from Ursinus, *stellam,* which seems a satisfactory emendation. Oehl. retains *stellarum,* explaining it, *stellarum Christi est* (*mathesis*), and supposing an ellipse of *stellas* before *Saturni,* &c. Observe that Tertul. is speaking in strong irony: 'I suppose astrology is concerned about Christ, I suppose it is the star of Christ, not of Saturn, and of Mars, and of the other deified dead men that it watches and proclaims.' The argument is, 'If the magi of Scripture are to be an authority for astrology, astrologers ought to be occupied concerning Christ, and his star, as those magi were: whereas it is notorious that Saturn, Mars, and the like, are the stars observed by astrologers.'

[7] *mortuorum.* Comp. De Spect. c. 6: *Proinde mortuis suis ut diis faciant;* below, c. 15: *Recogitemus omnem idololatriam in homines esse culturam, cum ipsos deos nationum homines retro fuisse etiam apud suos constet.*

[8] *clausulam,* 'the close.' Scorp. c. 8, *Ipse* (Johannes) *clausula legis.* Apolog. c. 32, *clausulam sæculi.*

CAP. IX. rans alia via digressos, quoniam et qua venerant ignorabat. Adeo viam rectam et disciplinam intelligere debemus. Itaque magis præceptum, ut exinde aliter incederent. Sic et alia illa species magiæ, quæ miraculis operatur, etiam adversus
Exod. vii. 11, & 22. Moysen æmulata patientiam Dei traxit ad evange-
Exod. viii. 7. lium usque. Nam exinde et Simon Magus jamjam fidelis, quoniam aliquid adhuc de circulatoria secta[9]
Act. viii. 18–20. cogitaret, ut scilicet inter miracula professionis suæ etiam Spiritum Sanctum per manuum impositionem enundinaret, maledictus ab apostolis de fide
Act. xiii. 6–11. ejectus est; alter magus, qui cum Sergio Paulo, quoniam iisdem adversabatur apostolus, luminum amissione mulctatus est. Hoc et astrologi retulissent, credo, si quis in apostolos incidisset. Attamen cum magia punitur, cujus est species astrologia, utique et species in genere damnatur. Post evangelium nusquam invenias aut sophistas aut Chaldæos aut incantatores aut conjectores aut magos,

[9] *circulatoria secta. Circulatores*, itinerant jugglers, supposed to perform their tricks by magic. Apul. Met. c. 4: *Et tamen Athenis proximo et ante Pœcilen isto gemino obtutu aspexi equestrem spatham præacutam mucrone infesto devorasse, et mox eundem invitamento exiguæ stipis venatoriam lanceam, qua parte minatur exitium in ima viscera condidisse. Et ecce pone lanceæ ferrum, qua bacillum inversi teli ad occipitium per ingluviem subit, puer in mollitiem decorus, inque flexibus tortuosis enervam et exossam saltationem explicat, cum omnium qui aderant admiratione.*

[10] *climacterica.* 'Dicit certa vitæ spatia per annos novem aut septem scansili ratione currentia, quæ Chaldæi periculosa esse affirmant, præcipue vero annum 63. Hunc enim illi climactera *ἀνδροκλᾶν*, id est *virifragum* appellant.' Rig. Hence the English term, 'the grand climacteric.'

[11] *digitus.* 'Utebantur mathematici digitis ad suas supputationes. Plin. Ep. II. 20: *Quotidie, qua hora nata esset, interrogavit. Ubi audivit, componit vultum, intendit oculos, movet labia, agitat digitos, computat diu.*' Oehl.

[12] *radius.* 'Instrumentum mathematicum ad metiendum, et figuras lineasque in pulvere deformandas. Cic. Tusc. v. 23, *humilem homunculum a pulvere et radio excitabo, Archimedem.* Virg. Ecl. III. 40, *Et quis fuit alter, Descripsit radio to-*

nisi plane punitos. Ubi sapiens, ubi litterator, ubi conquisitor hujus ævi? Nonne infatuavit Deus sapientiam hujus sæculi? Nihil scis, mathematice, si nesciebas te futurum Christianum. Si sciebas, hoc quoque scire debueras, nihil tibi futurum cum ista professione. Ipsa te de periculo suo instrueret, quæ aliorum climacterica[10] præcanit. Non est tibi pars neque sors in ista ratione. Non potest regna cœlorum sperare cujus digitus[11] aut radius[12] abutitur cœlo.

CAP. IX.

1 Cor. i. 20.

Act. viii. 21.

CAP. X.

The occupation of a schoolmaster is idolatrous. A Christian master may not teach, though a Christian may learn in a heathen school.

Quærendum autem est etiam de ludimagistris, sed et ceteris professoribus litterarum. Immo non dubitandum affines illos esse multimodæ idololatriæ. Primum quibus necesse est deos nationum prædicare, nomina, genealogias, fabulas, ornamenta honorifica quæque eorum enuntiare, tum sollemnia festaque eorundem observare, ut quibus vectigalia sua supputent. Quis ludimagister sine tabula septem idolorum Quinquatria tamen frequentabit[1]?

tum qui gentibus orbem, Tempora quæ messor, quæ curvus arator haberet? Id. Æn. VI. 850, *cœlique meatus Describunt radio.*' OEHL.

Ch. X. [1] *Quis ludimagister*... Gelen. and Pamel. for *sine tabula septem*, read *si non tabularia*, which has been commonly adopted, but not satisfactorily explained. The reading of the text is that of Cod. Ag. and Gangn. Rigalt would prefer *non frequentabit?* but, as a less alteration, puts the interrogation after *idolorum?* and reads the rest as a separate sentence. 'What schoolmaster is without his heathen calendar? or if he is, he will at all events keep the Quinquatria.' The reading in the text seems more intelligible, 'What schoolmaster will keep the Quinquatria (which he must of necessity keep) without a heathen calendar to reckon by?' *Tabula septem idolorum*, 'the calendar of the seven planets.' Rig. quotes Ad Natt. I. c. 13: *Vos certe estis, qui etiam in laterculum septem dierum solem recepistis.* The *Ludi Quinquatrus* were held on the xiv. Kal. Apr. This was a general holiday-time for schoolboys. Hor. Ep. II. 2, 197: *Ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim, Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.* Ovid, in behalf of the goddess Minerva, would propitiate certain stern pedagogues (who, I presume, were paid by the lesson) for their loss of payment during this festival by the hopes of new pupils and of the Mineral. Fast. III. 829:

CAP. X. Ipsam primam novi discipuli stipem[2] Minervæ et honori et nomini consecrat, ut etsi non profanatus alicui idolo verbotenus de idolothyto esse dicatur, [pro idololatra vitetur][3]. Quid minus est inquinamenti eo quod[4] præstat quæstus et nominibus et honoribus idolo nuncupatus? Tam[5] Minervalia Minervæ, quam Saturnalia Saturni, quæ[6] etiam serviculis sub tempore Saturnalium celebrari necesse est. Etiam strenæ[7] captandæ et septimontium et brumæ et caræ cognationis honoraria[8] exigenda omnia, flore scholæ coronandæ; flaminicæ et ædiles sacrificant, creatis schola honoratur feriis. Idem fit idoli natali; omnis diaboli pompa frequentatur. Quis hæc competere Christiano existimabit, nisi

Nec vos, turba, feri, censu fraudata, magistri, Spernite, discipulos attrahet illa novos. Frequentabit does not imply actual attendance at the festival, but is equivalent to our word 'celebrate.'

[2] *primam...stipem.* This payment was called *Minerval.* The master did not actually dedicate it, but receiving it in the name and in honour of Minerva, recognized it as sacred to a heathen goddess.

[3] *pro idololatra vitetur.* Cod. Ag. *pro idololatria vitatur.* Gel. and Pam. *pro idolatra vitetur.* Rig. omits the words, and I have enclosed them in a bracket. If we retain them, as Oehler does, we must translate thus, 'so that although he be not said, as far as mere words go, to eat of what is offered to idols, having been bound over to the unholy service of any idol, he should be avoided as an idolater'... Omitting the words in the brackets, 'so that although not bound over to the unholy service of any idol, as far as words go, he may be said to eat of what is offered to idols,' i. e. in receiving support from an idolatrous payment. Dodgson, who follows Rigalt's reading, connects *verbotenus* with *dicatur*.

[4] *eo quod.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *eo quem.* Gel. *quod,* omiss. *eo.* Pam. and Rig. *eo quod.* Oehl. by conjec. *eo, quam,* explaining *eo,* 'scil. quod non profanatus alicui idolo verbotenus de idolothyto esse dicatur.' The sentence is ironical: 'What less pollution is there than that which is produced by a payment dedicated to an idol, both in name and honour.'

[5] *Tam.* Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Rig. *quam.* So also Oehl. who considers *quam...quam* to be used for *tam...quam.* See above, c. 4. But the instances there quoted differ from this, where the former sentence is the antecedent, and distinct from the relative sentence that follows: 'The Minervalia are as much sacred to Minerva, as the Saturnalia to Saturn.'

qui putabit convenire etiam non magistro[9]? Scimus dici posse, Si docere litteras dei servis non licet, etiam nec discere licebit, et, Quomodo quis institueretur ad prudentium interim humanam, vel ad quemcumque sensum vel actum, cum instrumentum sit ad omnem vitam litteratura? Quomodo repudiamus sæcularia studia, sine quibus divina non possunt? Videamus igitur necessitatem litteratoriæ eruditionis, respiciamus ex parte eam admitti non posse, ex parte vitari. Fideles magis discere quam docere litteras capit[10]; diversa est enim ratio discendi et docendi. Si fidelis litteras doceat, insertas idolorum prædicationes sine dubio, dum CAP. X.

[6] *quæ.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. *quem etiam serviculi.* Gel., Pamel. and Rig. *quæ etiam serviculis.* Oehl. retains *quem* on account of *sub tempore Saturnalium* in the same sentence. But the antecedent of *quæ* is not 'the festival of the Saturnalia,' as in *sub tempore Saturnalium,* but, 'the presents exchanged at the time of the Saturnalia.' Lipsius (Saturnal. I. c. 16) quotes this passage, illustrating it from Sueton. Aug. c. 75: *Saturnalibus...munera dividebat;* and from Spartianus, Hadr.: *Saturnalicia et Sigillaricia frequenter amicis inopinantibus misit, et ipse ab his libenter accepit.*

[7] *strenæ,* (gifts presented on any religious day), especially New Year's day, connected with the worship of Janus. Ov. Fast. I. 183, foll. These gifts were received even by the emperor from the people, and applied by him to certain public works. Ursinus in Sueton. Aug. c. 91, quotes inscriptions found in the Via Sacra commemorating the erection of certain buildings, *ex stipe, quam Pop. Rom. anno novo abeunti contulit. Septimontium,* a gift presented to magistrates on III. Id. Decemb., on which day the enclosure of the city was celebrated. Tertull. (Ad Natt. II. c. 15) speaks of a god *Septimontius. Brumæ,* gifts of the winter solstice, like our Christmas presents.

[8] *caræ cognationis honoraria,* presents given at the Caristia, a festival celebrated XI. Kal. Mart., consecrated to the memory of departed relatives. Ovid. Fast. II. 617 foll.

[9] *etiam non magistro.* 'If a Christian who is not a schoolmaster may fitly join in these idolatrous rites, then, and then only, may a schoolmaster do so.' A schoolmaster's business makes these rites necessary for him. A Christian to whom they were not necessary would not think of practising them. The necessity shews the business to be unlawful.

[10] *capit.* Gr. ἐνδέχεται. Oehl. De Fuga. c. 1, quotes Apolog. c. 17, *æstimari non capit.* De Pudic. c. *capit et indulgeri.* De Bapt. c. 1, *capit numerari,* and other passages.

CAP. X. docet, commendat, dum tradit, affirmat, dum commemorat, testimonium dicit. Deos ipsos hoc nomine obsignat[11], cum lex prohibeat, ut diximus, deos pronuntiari et nomen hoc in vano collocari[12]. Hinc prima diabolo fides ædificatur ab initiis eruditionis. Quære, an idololatriam committat qui de idolis catechizat. At cum fidelis hæc discit, si jam sapit qui[13] sit, neque recipit neque admittit, multo magis si nondum sapit[14]. Aut ubi cœperit sapere, prius sapiat oportet quod prius didicit, id est de Deo et fide. Proinde illa respuet nec recipiet, et erit tam tutus, quam qui sciens venenum ab ignaro accipit nec bibit. Huic necessitas ad excusationem deputatur, quia aliter discere non potest. Tanto autem facilius est litteras non docere quam non discere, quanto et reliqua scholarum de publicis ac propriis[15] sollemnitatibus inquinamenta facilius dis-

Exod. xxiii. 13.
Exod. xx. 7.

[11] *Deos obsignat*, sets a seal to their divinity. Below, c. 12, *post fidem obsignatam*. *Obsignare*, to seal by way of dedication. Ad Uxor. I. c. 6: *statim a lavacro carnem suam obsignant*. De Cult. Fœm. II. c. 9: *se spadonatui obsignant*, where some read *assignant*.

[12] *in vano collocari*. The law forbids 'the name of God to be put upon a vain thing.' Dogds. refers to Adv. Prax. c. 7. Tert. is there arguing against heretical views as to the Word: *Vacua et inanis res est Sermo Dei, qui Filius dictus est, qui ipse Deus cognominatus est*, et Sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Sermo? *Scriptum est*, Non sumes nomen Dei in vanum.

[13] *qui*. Oehl. by conjec. *quid*. *qui sit*, 'who he is,' i. e. what is his character and profession as a Christian.

[14] *si nondum sapit*. Rig. from conject. *dudum*. *nondum* is better, 'if the person is yet so young as not to know what he is.'

[15] *publicis ac propriis*. Cod. Ag. and early Edd. *publicis, propriis*. Ursinus by conjec., Rig. and Oehl. *publicis ac propriis*. Junius and Scaliger, *publicis et propriis*. Comp. De Cor. c. 13, *municipalium sollemnitatum proprietate*. De Spect. c. 6, *publicis prosperitatibus et municipalibus festis*.

Ch. XI. [1] *De generationibus si* ... Thus in Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Gelen. Pamel. *Degenerabimus, si*. Rig. and Herald. *de negotationibus*. Rigalt omits *si*. The punctuation in the text is that of La C. followed by Oehl. The apodosis is the interrog. *negotiatio ... apta est?* 'If upon the subject of the producing

cipulus fidelis non adibit quam magister non frequentabit. CAP. X.

CAP. XI.

Commerce is at best doubtful, considering its origin; but that commerce is surely forbidden (the commerce in incense and the like) which respects the very essence of idolatry.

1 Tim. vi. 10. 1 Tim. i. 19. Col. iii. 5. Matt. v. 33, 34.

De generationibus si[1] cetera delictorum recogitemus, imprimis cupiditatem radicem omnium malorum qua quidam irretiti circa fidem naufragium sunt passi[2] (quamvis[3] et idololatria ab eodem apostolo dicta sit cupiditas), tum mendacium cupiditatis ministrum (taceo de perjurio, quando ne jurare quidem[4] liceat)—negotiatio servo Dei apta est? Ceterum si cupiditas abscedat, quæ est causa acquirendi? Cessante causa acquirendi non erit necessitas negotiandi. Sit nunc[5] aliqua justitia quæstus, secura de cupiditatis et mendacii observatione, in crimen offendere idololatriæ eam opinor, quæ ad ipsam idolorum animam et spiritum[6] pertinet, quæ omne dæmonium saginat. Sane; non illa principalis idololatriæ? Viderint, si[7] eædem merces, thura dico

causes [of commerce] we review the other vices; first, covetousness, the root of all evils, in which some having been ensnared, have made shipwreck of their faith (although covetousness has by the same apostle been also called idolatry): then falsehood, the handmaid of covetousness (not to speak of perjury, seeing we are forbidden even to swear)—[when we see, I say, that commerce has its origin in covetousness, and in falsehood, we are tempted to ask in general] Is commerce fitted for the servants of God?' Comp. Ecclus. xxvi. 29.

[2] *naufragium sunt passi.* The phrase occurs in 1 Tim. i. 19. In 1 Tim. vi. 10, we find ἧς τινὲς ὀρεγόμενοι ἀπεπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως. We may observe that Tertull. quotes from the *Greek*, and not from the Vulgate, both in the LXX. and in the N. T.; an incidental proof of the antiquity of his works.

[3] *quamvis...* Although covetousness has been also called idolatry, and therefore can scarcely be considered a vice distinct from that of idolatry.

[4] *ne jurare quidem.* See below, c. 17 and c. 23.

[5] *Sit nunc,* on the use of subj. see De Spect. c. 6, n. 3.

[6] *idolorum animam et spiritum.* Comp. Arnob. VII. p. 233: *Ergo si et dii spirant, odoremque ad se attrahunt auris comitantibus involutum, non est ab re dicere et alienis eos suffitionibus vivere et interclusis posse spiraminibus vivere.*

[7] *viderint, si.* 'Let the wares look to it, and see how they can defend themselves.' 'No matter, if.' On *viderint*, see De Cor. c. 2, n. 3.

CAP. XI. et cetera peregrinitatis sacrificium idolorum etiam hominibus ad pigmenta medicinalia[8], nobis quoque[9] insuper ad solatia sepulturæ usui sunt. Certe cum pompæ, cum sacerdotia, cum sacrificia idolorum de periculis, de damnis, de incommodis, de cogitationibus, de discursibus negotiationibusve instruuntur, quid aliud quam procurator idolorum demonstraris? Nemo contendat posse hoc modo omnibus negotiationibus controversiam fieri. Graviora delicta quæque pro magnitudine periculi diligentiam extendunt observationis, ut non ab his tantum abscedamus, sed et ab iis per quæ fiunt[10]. Licet enim ab aliis fiat, non interest, si per me. In nullo necessarius esse debeo alii, cum facit quod mihi non licet. Ex hoc, quod vetor facere, intelligere debeo curandum mihi esse, ne fiat per me. Denique[11] in alia causa non levioris reatus præjudicium istud observo. Nam quod mihi de stupro interdictum sit, aliis ad eam

[8] *pigmenta medicinalia.* 'Nam et pigmenta sunt usui medicinæ. Unde et pigmentarii dicti pharmacopolæ. Jul. Firmic. Mat. VIII. 17: *Quicunque sub hoc sidere nati fuerint, Marsi erunt, vel qui venenis ex herbarum pigmentis confectis salutaria solent hominibus remedia comparare.* Pigmenta etiam dixere condimenta. Cassian. Collat. XV. 3: *Corpora mortuorum pigmentis condita redolentibus in editioribus cellulis recondantur.* Sic etiam Exodi cap. 37 sub finem, *opus pigmentarii* dicitur quod Septuaginta ἔργον μυρεψοῦ.' RIG.

[9] *nobis quoque.* Because Christians buried, and did not burn their dead. Apol. c. 42: *Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ queruntur, scient Sabæi pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis.* De Coron. c. 11: *Et cremabitur ex disciplina castrensi Christianus, cui cremare non licet.* See Bingh. Chr. Ant. XXIII. 2, 4.

[10] *Graviora quæque...* 'All the more serious crimes, in proportion to the heinousness of the fault, demand an increase of heedful watching, that we abstain not merely from the crimes themselves, but also from those acts which make the crimes possible.

[11] *denique.* 'Briefly to illustrate this.' 'In short.' See De Cor. c. 3, n. 3.

[12] *id genus lucrum.* Cod. Ag. and Gangn. (followed by Oehl.) *lo-*

rem nihil aut operæ aut conscientiæ exhibeo. Nam quod ipsam carnem meam a lupanaribus segregavi, agnosco me quoque lenocinium neque id genus lucrum[12] alterius causa exercere posse. Sic et homicidii interdictio ostendit mihi lanistam quoque ab ecclesia arceri: nec per se non faciet quod faciendum alio[13] subministrat. Ecce magis proximum[14] præjudicium. Si publicarum victimarum redemptor ad fidem accedat, permittes ei in eo negotio permanere? Aut si jam fidelis id agere susceperit, retinendum in ecclesia putabis? Non opinor, nisi si quis et de thurario[15] dissimulabit. Scilicet ad alios pervenit procuratio sanguinis, ad alios odorum. Si antequam idola in sæculo essent, his mercibus adhuc informis idololatria transigebatur[16], si et nunc fere sine idolo opus idololatriæ incendiis odorum perpetratur, ecquid[17] majoris operæ et erga CAP. XI.

corum. The rest *lucrum*. For the use of *id genus*, comp. below, c. 20, *hoc genus nomina*. Apul. Ap. c. 9, *id genus plurima*. ibid. c. 10, ibid. c. 11.

[13] *alio*. Cod. Ag. *alio*. Gangn. *alios*. The rest *aliis*. This is probably a correction. The fem. dat. *aliæ*, for *alii*, is not unfrequently used. Oehler quotes an inscription in which *Alio nemini* occurs.

[14] *magis proximum*, 'more to the point.' Apul. Ap. c. 9, *tam proximum argumentum*.

[15] *thurario*. On the employments which excluded from the Church, see De Spect. c. 24, n. 2. Above, c. 5, n. 1, and c. 9, n. 1. The use of incense was, according to Arnobius, comparatively modern, Lib. VII. p. 232: *in antiquam et veterem consuetudinem quænam irruit novitas, ut quod tempestatibus tantis necessarium non fuit, locum sumeret in cæremoniis primum?* Offering incense was in early days the test to which Christians were subjected. See the note in Oxf. Transl.

[16] *his mercibus*... 'Idolatry, even before it was reduced to shape, was committed with these wares,' *i.e.* incense was offered to sun and moon, &c. before images were worshipped.

[17] *ecquid*. So all the MSS. and early Edd. Oehl. from conj. *et quid*, in order to avoid the interrogation: 'the incense-seller is even of greater service;' but *et quid* sounds strange in this sense. Dodgs. 'Doth not the incense-seller do better service?' But *ecquid* cannot bear this sense. Better, 'Is there any respect in which the incense-seller can be of

CAP. XI. dæmonia thurarius? Nam facilius sine idolo idololatria, quam sine thurarii merce. Ipsius fidei conscientiam perrogemus. Quo ore Christianus thurarius, si per templa transibit, quo ore fumantes aras despuet et exsufflabit[18], quibus ipse prospexit? Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos[19], quibus domum suam cellarium præstat? Ille quidem si excluserit dæmonium, non sibi placeat de fide[20]. Neque enim inimicum exclusit. Facile debuit de eo impetrare, quem quotidie pascit. Nulla igitur ars, nulla professio, nulla negotiatio, quæ quid aut instruendis aut formandis idolis administrat, carere poterit titulo idololatriæ; nisi si aliud omnino interpretemur idololatriam, quam famulatum idolorum colendorum.

CAP XII.

As to gaining a livelihood, we must remember that we are to sacrifice profit, ease, and plenty, for Christ's sake.

Male nobis de necessitatibus humanæ exhibitionis supplaudimus, si post fidem obsignatam dicimus, Non habeo quo vivam. Jam hic enim plenius illi abruptæ propositioni respondebo. Sero dicitur. Ante enim fuit deliberandum, ex similitudine providentissimi ædificis illius, qui prius sumptus operis cum viribus suis supputat, ne, ubi cœperit, defunctus

Luc. xiv. 28.

greater service, even towards the devils, than he is by incense-selling?' the argument being that the trade must needs be idolatrous, seeing that incense is even more essential to idolatry, than the idol itself.

[18] *despuet et exsufflabit.* Ad Uxor. II. c. 5, *cum aliquid immundum flatu exspuis.* Apul. Apol. c. 44, *possunt dicere omnes, quid in Thallo despuant.* Ibid. c. 52, *in cubiculo despui.*

[19] *alumnos suos,* 'his own alumni, those devils in whose service he makes his house a store-house.' Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 5, 6. On exorcism see De Spect. c. 26, n. 2.

[20] *Ille quidem...* 'If such an one have cast out a devil, let him not plume himself on his faith,' *i. e.* let him not consider this a proof of his faith.

Ch. XII. [1] *conditionalis,* a slave devoted and bound to a special employment. Oehler tells us that with the jurists the term was especially applied to slaves bound extraordinarily to the public service. He

postea erubescat. Sed et nunc habes dicta Domini CAP. XII.
exempla adimentia tibi omnem causationem. Quid
enim dicis? Egebo: sed felices egenos Dominus Luc. vi. 20.
appellat. Victum non habebo: sed, Nolite, inquit, Matt. vi 25, 28.
cogitare de victu; et vestitus habemus exemplum
lilia. Substantia mihi opus erat: atquin omnia ven- Luc. xviii.
denda sunt et egentibus dividenda. Sed filiis et
posteritati providendum: nemo aratro manum im- Luc. ix. 62.
ponens et retro spectans aptus est operi. Sed con-
ditionalis[1] eram: nemo duobus dominis servire Matt. vi. 24. Luc. xvi. 13.
potest. Si vis Domini discipulus esse, crucem tuam Matt. xvi. 24.
tollas et Dominum sequaris necesse est, id est,
angustias et cruciatus tuos, vel corpus solum, quod
in modum crucis[2] est. Parentes, conjuges, liberi Matt. xix. 29.
propter Deum relinquendi erunt. De artibus et
negotiationibus et de professionibus etiam libe-
rorum et parentum causa dubitas? Jam tunc
demonstratum est nobis et pignera[3] et artificia et
negotia propter Dominum derelinquenda, cum Ja-
cobus et Johannes vocati a Domino et patrem na- Matt. iv. 22.
vemque derelinquunt, cum Matthæus de teloneo Matt. ix. 9.
suscitatur, cum etiam sepelire patrem tardum fuit Matt. viii. 12.

quotes Cod. Theod. VIII. 1, 3, 5: *Annonarios et actuarios conditionales esse præcipimus.* Ibid. VIII. 1, 7: *Licet conditionales sint quos vulgo tabularios vocant.* Ibid. X. 1, 5: *Interrogationem haberi, quæ per conditionales servos habenda est.* Tert. uses the word Scorp. c. 8, *conditionales minas regis.*

[2] *in modum crucis.* Cod. Ag. Xp̃s. Gangn. *Christus.* Gel. and Pamel. *quod in domum Christi est.* La C. *quod in modum Christi.* Rigalt very ingeniously conjectured that the Cod. Ag. was copied from MS. reading X̅is, and that this being mistaken for the more common Xp̅s, led to the reading *Christus.* Rig. quotes Ad Natt. I. 12: *Ipsi quoque corpori nostro tacita et secreta linea crucis situs est. Quod caput emicat, quod spina dirigitur, quod humerorum obliquatio excedit, si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem crucis feceris.*

[3] *pignera.* Thus Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Gel. Both *pignora* and *pignera* were used.

CAP. XII. fidei. Nemo eorum, quos Dominus allegit, Non habeo, dixit, quo vivam. Fides tamen non timet. Scit etiam famem non minus sibi contemnendam propter Deum, quam omne mortis genus. Didicit non respicere vitam, quanto magis victum? Quotusquisque hæc adimplevit? Sed quæ penes homines difficilia, penes Deum facilia. *Sic tamen[1] nobis de mansuetudine et clementia Dei blandiamur, ut non usque ad idololatriæ affinitates necessitatibus largiamur, sed omnem afflatum ejus vice pestis etiam de longinquo devitemus, non in his tantum quæ præmisimus, sed in universa serie humanæ superstitionis, sive deis suis, sive defunctis, sive regibus mancipatæ, ut ad eosdem spiritus immundos pertinentis, modo per sacrificia et sacerdotia, modo per spectacula et hoc genus, modo per festos dies.

Luc. xviii. 27.

C. XIII. We must give up all that savours of heathen superstition, sacrifices, shows and festivals:

We must abstain from festivals, for we may not rejoice with the world, nor be ashamed of the name of Christ.

Sed de sacrificiis et de sacerdotiis quid loquar? De spectaculis autem et voluptatibus ejusmodi suum[2] jam volumen implevimus. Hoc loco retractari oportet de festis diebus et aliis extraordinariis sollemnitatibus, quas interdum lasciviæ, interdum

Ch. XIII. [1] *Sic tamen.* It is usual to begin a fresh paragraph here. But Oehler, (in whose edition *si tamen* is read apparently by a misprint,) remarks that this sentence should be connected with what precedes. The argument is this: It is true that few fulfil this requirement. But God is so merciful, that what is impossible with men is possible with God, and so even those who do not fulfil it may enter into His kingdom. However, we must not so presume upon God's mercy, etc.

[2] *suum.* See De Spect. c. 28, n. 1.

[3] *hujusmodi.* See on De Spect. c. 26, n. 1.

[4] *Sæculo autem...* De Spect. c. 28; De Cor. c. 13.

[5] *Eleazar.* Thus in Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Gel. Pamel. and Rig. *Lazarus*, but Rig. quotes from Prudent. Cathem. x. 153: *Gremio senis addita sancti Recubabit, ut est Eleazar.* So in De Anim. c. 7. Cod. Ag. reads *Eleazari*, where

timiditati nostræ subscribimus adversus fidem dis- C. XIII.
ciplinamque communem. De hoc quidem primo consistam, an cum ipsis quoque nationibus communicare in hujusmodi[3] servus Dei debeat, sive habitu, sive victu, vel quo alio genere lætitiæ earum. Gaudere cum gaudentibus et lugere cum lugentibus de Rom. xii. 15.
fratribus dictum est ab apostolo ad unanimitatem cohortante. Ceterum ad hæc nihil communionis est lumini et tenebris, vitæ et morti, aut scindimus 2 Cor. vi. 14.
quod est scriptum, Sæculum gaudebit, vos vero Joh. xvi. 20.
lugebitis. Si cum sæculo gaudemus, verendum est, ne cum sæculo et lugeamus. Sæculo autem gaudente lugeamus, et sæculo postea lugente gaudebimus[4]. Sic et Eleazar[5] apud inferos in sinu Abrahæ Luc. xvi. 22.
refrigerium consecutus, contra dives in tormento ignis constitutus, alternas malorum et bonorum vices æmula retributione compensant. Sunt quidam dies munerum[6], quæ apud alios honoris titulum, apud alios mercedis debitum[7] expungunt. Nunc ergo, inquis, recipiam meum, vel rependam alienum. Si hunc morem sibi homines de superstitione consecraverunt, tu extraneus ab omni eorum vanitate,

mention is made of Lazarus. On Tertullian's opinion as to the place of the souls of the departed, see Kaye's Tertull. p. 247, sqq. Kaye quotes Adv. Marc. IV. c. 34: *Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituræ animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat.*

[6] *dies munerum.* See above, c. 10.

[7] *mercedis debitum.* 'Unde et Mercedonius seu Mercedinus mensis dictus, posteaque dies Mercedini in tres menses tributi.' RIG. Dodgs., 'which are the payment with some of an honor due, with others of a debt for a hired service.' *Honoris titulum.* See above, c. 10, *honoraria. Mercedis debitum,* as in the case of the *ludi magister,* c. 10. Comp. Juv. Sat. VII. 119: *Quod vocis pretium? Siccus petasunculus,* etc. Pers. Sat. III. 75: *Et piper et pernæ, Marsi monumenta clientis.*

C. XIII. quid participas idolothyta sollemnia, quasi tibi quoque præscriptum sit de die, quominus id, quod homini debes vel tibi ab homine debetur, citra diei observationem luas vel recipias. Da formam[8], in quam velis agi tecum. Cur enim et lateas, cum
1 Cor. viii. 7. ignorantia alterius tuam conscientiam contamines? Si non ignoraris quod sis Christianus, tentaris et contra conscientiam alterius agis tanquam non Christianus. Enimvero et dissimulaberis. Tentatus, addictus es[9]. Certe sive hac sive illac, reus es confusionis in Deo. Qui autem confusus super
Luc. ix. 26. me fuerit penes homines, et ego confundar super illo, inquit, penes Patrem meum, qui est in cœlis.

C. XIV. We may not propitiate our enemies by joining in unlawful festivals, much less join in such festivals unsolicited.

Sed enim plerique jam induxerunt animo agnoscendum[1] esse, si quando, quæ ethnici, faciunt, ne nomen[2] blasphemetur. Porro blasphemia, quæ nobis omnino devitanda est, hæc, opinor, est, si quis nostrum ad justam blasphemiam ethnicum de-

[8] *Da formam...* The dilemma is this: In observing these days, you are either not known, or you are known to be a Christian. If you are not known, you defile your own conscience in disguising your profession by such compliances; if you are known to be a Christian, you wound the conscience of others (giving them a false idea of what Christianity is) by doing what a Christian ought not to do.

[9] *Enimvero et dissimulaberis. Tentatus, addictus es.* Thus in Cod. Ag., Gangn. and Gel. The passage has been variously amended. Pamel.: *Enimvero etsi simulaveris.* Latinius and Junius: *sin vero et dissimulaveris.* Rig.: *Enimvero et dissimulaveris.* Oehl.: *sin vero et dissimulaberis.* The agreement of the early MSS. of different families in a reading, whose meaning is at least not obvious, makes for, not against its genuineness. I have therefore retained the ancient reading, with a punctuation slightly different from that usually adopted. The first clause is connected with what precedes. 'You act as if you were no Christian. For in truth, even though known to be one, it will be pretended that you are not a Christian.' The heathen, though they know you to be a Christian, will wink at it, and will be glad to accept the act as a virtual abnegation of your faith. Tertullian then goes on to state the consequence which follows on either alternative: 'You have

ducat aut fraude aut injuria aut contumelia aliave C. XIV.
materia dignæ querelæ, in qua nomen merito percutitur, ut merito irascatur et Dominus. Ceterum si de omni blasphemia dictum est, Vestri causa nomen meum blasphemetur, perimus universi, cum totus circus scelestis suffragiis[3] nullo merito nomen lacessit. Desinamus, et non blasphemabitur. Immo dum sumus[4], blasphemetur: in observatione non in exorbitatione disciplinæ; dum probamur, non dum reprobamur. O blasphemiam martyrii[5] affinem, quæ tunc me testatur Christianum, cum propter eam me detestatur! Benedictio est nominis maledictio custoditæ disciplinæ. Si hominibus, inquit, vellem placere, servus Christi non essem. Sed idem alibi jubet, omnibus placere curemus: quemadmodum ego, inquit, omnibus per omnia placeo. Nimirum Saturnalia et Kalendas Januarias celebrans hominibus placebat? an modestia et patientia? an gravi-

Rom. ii. 24. Es. lii. 5. Ezech. xxxvi. 20.

Gal. i. 10.

1 Cor. x. 33.

been tempted, you have become the slave of the tempter. At any rate, either in this way or in that you are guilty of being ashamed of God. But whoever,' &c. *Tentatus.* La Cerda says that the word *tentari* is used by early Christian writers to signify, 'to be overcome by temptation.' But the passages which he adduces are not strongly in favour of this. *tentare* is used in the peculiar sense expressed by our English *tempt.* Here *tentatus* is, 'tempted;' *addictus*, 'given over to the power of the tempter, overcome by the temptation.'

Ch. XIV. [1] *agnoscendum*, 'that we should acknowledge with approbation.' Cod. Ag. *agnoscendam.* Gangn. *ad cognoscendum.* Gel., Pam. and Rig. *ignoscendum.*

[2] *nomen*, sc. *Christianum.* de Patient. c. 2, *nomen cum familia ipsius persequentes.* Apol. c. 3, *retro ante hoc nomen.* De Cor. c. 1, *nomini negotium fecerit.*

[3] *suffragiis*, sc. *Christianos ad leonem.*

[4] *Immo dum sumus*, sc. *dum sumus Christiani*, opposed to *desinamus*, sc. *esse Christiani.* Rig. by conject. reads, *blasphemetur, dum sumus in observatione*, etc.

[5] *martyrii*, not as Dodgs. 'martyrdom,' but in its more primitive sense of 'testimony.' De Cor. c. 9, *tabernaculum martyrii.* *Martyres* in the old sense did not imply death. See the tract *Ad Martyras.* Comp. De Cor. c. 1, *martyrii candida.*

C. XIV. tate, an humanitate, an integritate? Proinde cum
1 Cor. ix. 22. dicit, Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucrifaciam, numquid idololatris idololatres? numquid ethnicis ethnicus? numquid sæcularibus sæcularis? Sed etsi non prohibet nos conversari cum idololatris et adulteris et ceteris criminosis, dicens, Cete-
1 Cor. v. 10. rum de mundo exiretis, non utique eas habenas conversationis immutat[6], ut, quoniam necesse est et convivere nos et commisceri cum peccatoribus, idem et compeccare possimus. Ubi est commercium vitæ, quod apostolus concedit, ibi peccare[7], quod nemo permittit. Licet convivere cum ethnicis, commori non licet. Convivamus cum omnibus; collætemur ex communione naturæ, non superstitionis. Pares anima sumus, non disciplina, compossessores mundi, non erroris. Quod si nobis nullum jus est communionis in hujusmodi cum extraneis, quanto scelestius hæc inter fratres frequentare. Quis hoc sustinere aut defendere potest? Judæis dies suos festos exprobrat Spiritus Sanctus.

[6] *immutat*, 'There is no such inversion of the laws of discipline.' La Cerda, *immittit.* He is followed by Oehl. who suspects the reading to have been *imputat*. Neither of these changes is necessary.

[7] *peccare*, sc. *possimus*. Cod. Ag. *ubi est...ibi*. Gangn. *ubi est...sibi*. Gel. and Pamel. *ibi est...hic*, which looks like a correction. Rig. *ibi est ...ibi*.

[8] *sabbata extranea sunt*. Comp. Just. M. Trypho, p. 237 A., p. 238 A., p. 240 E., p. 245 B. In the Greek Apost. Constit. (VII. 23) Christians are enjoined to keep the Sabbath and the Lord's Day Festival. The only Sabbath in the year to be kept as a fast being that of the Lord's burial. See Bunsen's Hippol. Vol. III. p. 76 and p. 94.

[9] *Saturnalia, Januaria, Brumæ*. See above, c. 10.

[10] *matronales*, held on the Kal. Mart. in memory of the reconciliation effected between the Romans and Sabines by the wives of the former. Ov. Fast. III. 170, foll.

[11] *strenæ consonant*. Oehl. adopts a strange punctuation: *munera commeant, strenæ, consonant lusus, convivia constrepunt*. Scaliger had proposed on conject. *et strenæ*.

Sabbata, inquit, vestra et neomenias et ceremonias odit anima mea. Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt[8] et neomeniæ et feriæ a Deo aliquando dilectæ, Saturnalia et Januariæ et Brumæ[9] et Matronales[10] frequentantur, munera commeant, strenæ consonant[11], lusus, convivia constrepunt. O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam sollemnitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat! Non Dominicum diem, non Pentecosten, etiamsi nossent, nobiscum communicassent: timerent enim, ne Christiani viderentur. Nos, ne ethnici pronuntiemur, non veremur. Si quid et carni indulgendum est, habes, non dicam tuos dies tantum, sed et plures. Nam ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est, tibi octavo quoque die. Excerpe singulas sollemnitates nationum et in ordinem exsere, Pentecosten[12] implere non poterunt.

C. XIV.
Es. i. 14.

CAP. XV.
The festive illumination and decoration of windows and doors is idolatrous and unlawful.
Matt. v. 16.

Sed luceant, inquit, opera vestra. At nunc luceant tabernæ[1] et januæ nostræ! Plures non invenias ethnicorum fores sine lucernis et laureis

[12] *Pentecosten.* The season from Easter to Whitsunday. De Cor. c. 3: *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ ad Pentecosten usque gaudemus.* Apostol. Constitut. mentions rest from work in the week following the Passover, which is the Feast. Bunsen's Hipp. Vol. III. p. 95. See Bingh. Chr. Ant. XIII. 8, 3.

Ch. XV. [1] *luceant tabernæ*, Pers. Sat. V. 179: *At cum Herodis venere dies, unctaque fenestra Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ Portantes violas*, etc. Juv. Sat. XII. 92: *Cuncta nitent, longos erexit janua ramos, Et matutinis operitur festa lucernis.* Apolog. c. 35: *O nos merito damnandos! Cur enim vota et gaudia Cæsarum casti et sobrii et probi expungimus? cur die læto non laureis postes obumbramus? nec lucernis diem infringimus? Honesta res est, sollemnitate publica exigente, inducere domui tuæ habitum alicujus novi lupanaris!* Ad Uxor. II. c. 6: *Procedet [ancilla Dei] de janua, laureata et lucernata, ut de novo consistorio libidinum publicarum. luceant* is in Cod. Ag., Gangn., Gel. and Pam. *lucent* is a conj. of Rigalt, followed by Oehl. It is however unnecessary, the sentence being, after Tertullian's manner, ironical.

CAP. XV. quam Christianorum. De ista quoque specie quid videtur? Si idoli honor est, sine dubio idoli honor idololatria est. Si hominis causa est, recogitemus omnem idololatriam in hominis causam esse. Recogitemus omnem idololatriam in homines esse culturam, cum ipsos deos nationum homines retro fuisse[2] etiam apud suos constet. Itaque nihil interest, superioris an hujus sæculi viris superstitio ista præstetur. Idololatria non propter personas, quæ opponuntur[3], sed propter officia ista damnata est, quæ ad dæmonas pertinent. Reddenda sunt

Matt. xxii. 21. Luc. xx. 25. Cæsari, quæ sunt Cæsaris. Bene quod[4] apposuit, Et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Quæ ergo sunt Cæsaris? Scilicet de quibus tunc consultatio movebatur, præstandusne esset census Cæsari, an non. Ideo et monetam ostendi sibi Dominus postulavit, et de imagine, cujus esset, requisivit, et cum audisset Cæsaris, Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo, id est imaginem Cæsaris Cæsari, quæ in nummo est, et imaginem Dei[5] Deo, quæ in homine est, ut Cæsari quidem pecuniam reddas, Deo temetipsum. Alioquin quid erit Dei, si omnia

[2] *homines retro fuisse.* See above, c. 9, n. 7.

[3] *opponuntur,* 'are presented for adoration.'

[4] *Bene quod.* See above, c. 5, n. 10.

[5] *imaginem Dei.* De Spect. c. 18: *humani oris, id est divinæ imaginis.* S. August. Enarr. in Ps. 94, § 2: *Tanquam diceret, Si Cæsar quærit in nummo imaginem suam, Deus non quærit in homine imaginem suam?* Comp. de Cor. c. 12.

[6] *Cardeam a cardinibus.* See De Spectac. c. 8, n. 7; De Cor. c. 13, n. 6.

[7] *Janum a janua.* Ovid. Fast. I. 125, sqq.: *Præsideo foribus cœli... Inde vocor Janus...Nomina ridebis; modo namque Patulcius idem, Et modo sacrifico Clusius ore vocor.*

[8] *per consecrationis obligamentum.* Arnob. VI. p. 203, where the Pagan theory as to the sanctity of images is thus expressed: *Sed erras, inquitis, et laberis; nam neque nos ceræ neque auri argentique materias, neque alias quibus signa conflunt, eas esse per se deos et religiosa de-*

Cæsaris? Ergo, inquis, honor Dei est lucernæ pro foribus et laurus in postibus? Non utique quod Dei honor est, sed quod ejus, qui pro Deo ejusmodi officiis honoratur, quantum in manifesto est, salva operatione quæ est in occulto, ad dæmonia perveniens. Certi enim esse debemus, si quos latet per ignorantiam litteraturæ sæcularis, etiam ostiorum deos apud Romanos, Cardeam a cardinibus[6] appellabam, et Forculum a foribus, et Limentinum a limine, et ipsum Janum a janua[7]: et utique scimus, licet nomina inania atque conficta sint, cum tamen in superstitionem deducuntur, rapere ad se dæmonia et omnem spiritum immundum per consecrationis obligamentum[8]. Alioquin dæmonia nullum habent nomen singillatim, sed ibi nomen inveniunt, ubi et pignus. Etiam apud Græcos Apollinem Θυραῖον et Antelios[9] dæmonas ostiorum præsides legimus. Hæc igitur ab initio prævidens Spiritus Sanctus etiam ostia in superstitionem ventura præcecinit per antiquissimum prophetam Enoch[10]. Nam et alia ostia in balneis adorari videmus. Si autem sunt qui in ostiis adorentur, ad eos et lucernæ et CAP. XV.

cernimus numina; sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulacris. Minuc. Fel. c. 23: *Quando igitur hic deus nascitur? Ecce funditur, fabricatur, sculpitur. Nondum deus est. Ecce plumbatur, construitur, erigitur. Nec adhuc Deus est. Ecce ornatur, consecratur, oratur. Tum postremo deus est, cum homo ille voluit et dedicavit.* See De Idol. c. 1, n. 7. Comp. De Spect. c. 10: *fallaciam consecrationis.* De Cor. c. 10: *et ipsi* (sc. mortui) *idola statim fiunt et habitu et cultu consecrationis quæ secunda idololatria est.*

[9] *Apollinem* Θυραῖον. La Cerda quotes Schol. in Soph. Electr. on the word προστατήριος applied to Apollo: ὅτι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἵδρυται. *Antelios.* Rhen. quotes Hesych.: ἀντήλιοι, οἱ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἱδρυμένοι. Ἀντήλιος, ὁ ἀντικρὺ ἡλίου ἱδρυμένος βωμὸς ἢ θεός. See De Cor. c. 13.

[10] *Enoch.* See above, c. 4, n. 3.

CAP. XV. laureæ pertinebunt. Idolo feceris, quicquid ostio feceris. Hoc in loco ex auctoritate quoque Dei contestor, quia nec tutum est subtrahere quodcumque uni fuerit ostensum utique omnium causa. Scio fratrem per visionem eadem nocte castigatum graviter, quod januam ejus subito annuntiatis gaudiis publicis servi coronassent. Et tamen non ipse coronaverat aut præceperat; nam ante processerat, et regressus reprehenderat factum. Adeo apud Deum in hujusmodi[11] etiam de disciplina familiæ nostræ æstimamur. Igitur quod attineat ad honores regum vel imperatorum, satis præscriptum habemus, in omni obsequio esse nos oportere secundum apostoli præceptum subditos magistratibus et principibus et potestatibus, sed intra limites disciplinæ, quousque ab idololatria separamur. Propterea enim et illud exemplum trium fratrum præcucurrit, qui, alias obsequentes erga regem Nabuchodonosor, honorem imaginis ejus constantissime respuerunt, probantes idololatriam esse quicquid ultra humani honoris modum ad instar divinæ sublimitatis extollitur. Sic et Daniel, cetera Dario subnixus, tamdiu fuit in officio, quamdiu a periculo disciplinæ vacaret. Nam ne id subiret, non magis leones regios timuit, quam illi regios ignes. Accendant igitur quotidie

Rom. xiii. 1.

Dan. iii. 12, sqq.

Dan. vi. 5, sqq.

[11] *in hujusmodi.* De Spect. c. 26, n. 1.

[12] *postmodum arsuras.* Comp. De Spect. c. 30: *flammea rota totus rubens.* Oehl. quotes De Cult. Fœm. c. 6: *male ac pessime sibi auspicantur flammeo capite.*

Ch. XVI. [1] *togæ puræ.* The assumption of the *toga virilis* by youths in their 17th year. Cic. Ep. Att. IX. 19. This was usually done at the *Liberalia.* Cic. Ep. Att. VI. 1: *Quinto togam puram Liberalibus cogitabam dare.* Ovid., Fast. III. 771.

[2] *nominalium.* The day of giving the name to children—the eighth from the birth for girls, the ninth

lucernas, quibus lux nulla est; affigant postibus lauros postmodum arsuras[12], quibus ignes imminent: illis competunt et testimonia tenebrarum et auspicia pœnarum. Tu lumen es mundi et arbor virens semper. Si templis renuntiasti, ne feceris templum januam tuam. Minus dixi: si lupanaribus renuntiasti, ne indueris domui tuæ faciem novi lupanaris.

CAP. XV.

Matt. v. 14.

Ps. i. 3.

C. XVI.

In festivals of marriage, and the like, which originate not in idolatry, it is lawful to take part, provided we join in no idolatrous act that may accompany the celebration.

Circa officia vero privatarum et communium sollemnitatum, ut togæ puræ[1], ut sponsalium, ut nuptialium, ut nominalium[2], nullum putem periculum observari de flatu idololatriæ, quæ intervenit. Causæ enim sunt considerandæ, quibus præstatur officium. Eas mundas esse opinor per semetipsas, quia neque vestitus virilis neque annulus aut conjunctio maritalis de alicujus idoli honore descendit. Nullum denique cultum a Deo maledictum invenio, nisi muliebrem in viro. Maledictus enim, inquit, omnis qui muliebribus induitur. Toga vero[3] etiam appellationis virilis est. Nuptias quoque celebrari non magis Deus prohibet quam nomen imponi. Sed his accommodantur sacrificia. Sim vocatus, nec in sacrificiis sit titulus officii, et operæ meæ expunctio quantum sibi libet. Utinam quidem nec videre possemus quæ facere nefas est[4]; sed quo-

Deut. xxii. 5.

for boys—called *dies lustricus*. Pers. Sat. II. 31.

[3] *Toga vero.* 'Appellatur enim toga virilis, non simpliciter toga.' RIG.

[4] *Sim vocatus...* This passage is very variously read and interpreted. Cod. Ag.: *Sim vocatus nec ad sacrificiis sit titulus officii et operæ meæ expunctio quantum sibi libet. Utinam quantum sibi quidem nec possemus*, etc. Gangn.: *Si invocatus nec in sacrificiis sit...expunctio quæ tum sibi libet. Utinam quidem nec possimus*, etc. Gel. and Pamel.: *Si in vocatu nec in sacrificiis sit..., expunctio quid tum? si libet. Utinam quidem nec possimus*, etc. These

C. XVI. niam ita Malus circumdedit sæculum idololatria[5], licebit adesse in quibusdam, quæ nos homini, non idolo, officiosos habent. Plane ad sacerdotium et sacrificium vocatus non ibo (proprium enim idoli officium est), sed neque consilio neque sumptu aliave opera in ejusmodi fungar. Si propter sacrificium vocatus assistam, ero particeps idololatriæ; si me alia causa conjungit sacrificanti, ero tantum spectator sacrificii.

C. XVII. Ceterum quid facient servi vel liberi[1] fideles,

Christian slaves may serve heathen

variations from Gangn. look very much like emendations, to make out the sense. Others have corrected it conjecturally: as Ursinus and La Cerda, *Si sim vocatus;* Latinius and Junius, *Si nec in vocatu.* Rigalt, looking as usual to the Cod. Ag., adopts its reading, only altering *ad sacrificiis* to *adsacrificii,* which word he illustrates by *admilitia,* from the Pandects. The explanation which Rigalt offers is this: Tertullian is contemplating the case of slaves called upon to assist in such ceremonies. 'Suppose I am called upon to take part, and the performance of my duty and service does not bear the title of assisting in sacrifice; let the heathen master do as much as he pleases, would only it were as much as he pleased himself to do, and we might avoid seeing, &c.' Oehler adopts Rigalt's reading, and expresses his general concurrence in Rigalt's explanation, illustrating the use of *adsacrificii* by *adtradux,* De Pat. c. 5, and other instances. So Dodgson translates it. I differ from them, because, 1 the case of slaves seems to be first introduced in c. 17, and the subject here is the general question of attendance on such ceremonies; 2 the words *vocatus* and *officium* rather imply invitation than command; 3 the ellipse supposed before *quantum sibi libet* is very harsh. Oehl. endeavours to lessen the harshness, by placing a comma before *et operæ,* and interpreting the sentence, 'Suppose that I have been summoned, &c., let even the performance of my service be at its pleasure' (etiam opera mea sibi expungatur in quantum sibi libet). As to the reading of the text, I observe, 1 that *Si invocatus* may very probably have been a mistake made by Gangn. in reading his MSS., expecting to find *si;* 2 that in Cod. Ag. *ad sacrificiis* is clearly erroneous, and that the MS. is more likely to be faulty where it disagrees than where it agrees with others; 3 *quæ tum* in Gangn. is plainly wrong, and *quantum* right; 4 that *quantum sibi* in Cod. Ag. in the next sentence is very probably the repetition of a copyist from the former sentence. But if *quantum sibi* be retained, it may be explained, as will be shewn. For the explanation:—All commentators have supposed the answer to *sim vocatus* to lie in *quan-*

item officiales sacrificantibus dominis vel patronis vel præsidibus suis adhærentes? Sed si merum quis sacrificanti tradiderit, immo si verbo quoque aliquo sacrificio necessario adjuverit, minister habebitur idololatriæ. Hujus regulæ memores etiam magistratibus et potestatibus officium possumus reddere secundum patriarchas et ceteros majores, qui regibus idololatris usque ad finem idololatriæ apparuerunt[2].

C. XVII. masters even when sacrificing, provided they themselves abstain from any idolatrous act.

tum sibi libet. I believe the hypothetic case to include from *sim* to *libet;* and the answer to be in *licebit.* But the direct answer is interrupted by the wish *Utinam quidem;* the *quidem* marking as it so often does that the sentence is introduced by way of contrast, the main sentence being that which begins with *sed,* as in Greek *μὲν...δὲ.* Tertull. has been saying that ceremonies of a particular kind may be attended. But an objection is started, 'Sacrifices are often mixed with them.' Tertull. puts a case: 'Suppose that I have been invited, and suppose both that the name of my attendance is not connected with sacrifices, and that the performance of my part is at pleasure.' *Sibi* referring to *opera mea: quantum sibi libet* is illustrated by Oehl. from Adv. Hermog. c. 23: *Fuerit licet materia quantum sibi licet vel potius Hermogeni,* and answers very much to the phrase *ad libitum.* Tertull. proceeds to answer the hypothetical case: 'Although I could wish we were exempt even from seeing idolatrous sacrifices; yet, situated as we are, it will be lawful to be present, &c.' He then proceeds with no doubt to the case where a person is invited to a sacrifice: *Plane ad sacerdotium,* etc. If we read with Rig. *Utinam quantum sibi quidem, nec,* we must interpret, 'Would that it were indeed at its own pleasure,' *i. e.* 'Would that the performance of the Christian's part were really so free, as that he were excused from seeing what he would not do.' For the use of the subj. *sim,* see De Spect. c. 6, n. 3. *Officium* is especially applied to complimentary attendance upon nuptial feasts. Sueton. Calig. c. 25: *Liviam...nubentem, cum ad officium et ipse venisset, ad se deduci imperavit.* Claud. c. 26: *confecit nuptias, non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam et altero primipilari, cujus officium nuptiarum et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.*

[5] *circumdedit sæculum idololatria.* Comp. De Spect. c. 8. *Malus,* sc. *Satanas.* Below, c. 21.

Ch. XVII. [1] *liberi.* La Cerda, Rig. and Oehl. *liberti.* La C. remarks that *servi* corresponds to *dominis, liberti* to *patronis, officiales* to *præsidibus.* But Dionys. Hal. (II. 22) tells us that priests were assisted by their children, if they had any, and if not, by children of other families called *camilli.* Probably *liberi* refers to these.

[2] *apparuerunt.* See De Spect. c. 17, n. 8.

C. XVII.

The question whether Christians may bear office in heathen countries must be answered in the negative, because the insignia of magistrates have their origin in idolatry.
Gen. xli. 42.
Dan. v. 29.

Hinc proxime disputatio oborta est, an servus Dei alicujus dignitatis aut potestatis administrationem capiat, si ab omni specie idololatriæ intactum se aut gratia aliqua aut astutia etiam præstare possit, secundum quod et Joseph et Daniel mundi ab idololatria et dignitatem et potestatem administraverunt in ornamento et purpura præfecturæ totius Ægypti sive Babyloniæ. Cedamus itaque succedere alicui posse, ut in quoquo honore in solo honoris nomine incedat, neque sacrificet, neque sacrificiis auctoritatem suam accommodet, non hostias locet[3], non curas templorum deleget, non vectigalia eorum procuret, non spectacula edat de suo aut de publico aut edendis præsit, nihil sollemne pronuntiet vel edicat, ne juret quidem; jam vero quæ sunt potestatis, neque judicet de capite alicujus aut pudore[4] (feras enim de pecunia), neque damnet neque prædamnet[5], neminem vinciat, neminem recludat aut torqueat, si hæc credibile

[3] *hostias locet. locare,* 'to put out the contract;' *redimere,* 'to take it up.' Above, c. II: *publicarum victimarum redemptor.* Plaut. Capt. IV. 2, 39: *Qui locant cædendos agnos.* Aulul. III. 6, 32: *loces efferendum.* Hor. Sat. I. 8, 9: *ejecta cadavera cellis Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca,* where some interpret *locabat* simply 'placed.'

[4] *pudore,* 'honor.' Neander (Antignost. p. 232), illustrates this by Apolog. c. 4: *In pudoris notam capitis pœna conversa.* Comp. De Cor. c. II: *Et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum?*

[5] *neque damnet...* 'Damnat judex, prædamnat legislator. Utroque abstineat Christianus, neque de capite cujusquam aut legem aut sententiam ferat.' RIG.

Ch. XVIII. [1] *Jam vero.* The separation of this sentence from the foregoing, in order to begin a new Chapter with a new paragraph, has misled interpreters. The actual answer to the question as to magistracy is only here commenced. 'Suppose,' says Tertul., 'for argument's sake, that a Christian magistrate could avoid all those duties, ordinary and extraordinary, which are the especial functions of magistrates; yet an examination of the mere insignia of office will shew them to be

est fieri posse. *Jam vero[1] de solo suggestu et apparatu honoris retractandum. Proprius habitus uniuscujusque est, tam ad usum quotidianum, quam ad honorem et dignitatem. Igitur purpura illa et aurum cervicis ornamentum eodem more apud Ægyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis, quo more nunc prætextæ[2] vel trabeæ[3] vel palmatæ[4] et coronæ aureæ sacerdotum, provincialium[5], sed non eadem conditione. Tantum enim honoris nomine conferebantur his, qui familiaritatem regum merebantur. Unde et purpurati regum vocabantur a purpura, sicut apud nos a toga candida candidati, sed non ut suggestus ille sacerdotiis quoque aut aliquibus idolorum officiis astringeretur. Nam si ita esset, utique tantæ sanctitatis et constantiæ viri statim habitus inquinatos recusassent, statimque apparuisset Danielem idolis non deservisse, nec C. XVIII.

idolatrous, and therefore the office to be unlawful.'

[2] *prætextæ.* For the connexion of these robes with idolatry, compare Liv. x. 7: *Cui Deorum hominumve indignum videre potest, inquit, eos viros, quos vos sellis curulibus, toga prætexta, tunica palmata et corona triumphali laureaque honoraritis,...pontificalia atque auguralia insignia assumere? qui Jovis Opt. Max. ornatu decoratus, curru aurato per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascenderit; si conspiciatur cum capide et lituo, capite velato victimam cædat, auguriumve ex arce capiat?*

[3] *trabeæ,* of three kinds; 1 used for the gods, of purple only; 2 by augurs, of purple and scarlet; 3 by consuls and knights in their *transvectio,* of purple and white. Juv. Sat. x. 35. The procession of knights started from the Temple of Mars, and so was connected with idol-worship.

[4] *palmatæ,* worn by triumphant generals. Both the *tunica* and *toga* were *palmata.* Juv. Sat. x. 38, *tunica Jovis.* De Cor. c. 13, *cum palmatis togis.*

[5] *provincialium.* The common reading followed by Oehl. has no comma after *sacerdotum.* I have adopted the reading suggested by Rigalt, *sacerdotum, provincialium.* There is no reason for limiting the crowns to *provincial* priests. On the crowns of priests Oehl. quotes Prudent. Perist. x. 1011. On the crowns of provincials, see De Cor. c. 13, n. 7.

C. XVIII. Belem nec draconem colere, quod multo postea apparuit. Simplex igitur purpura illa nec jam dignitatis erat, sed ingenuitatis apud barbaros insigne. Quodammodo[6] enim et Joseph, qui servus fuerat, et Daniel, qui per captivitatem statum verterat, civitatem Babyloniam et Ægyptum sunt consecuti per habitum barbaricæ ingenuitatis. Sic penes nos quoque fideles, si necesse fuerit, poterit et pueris prætexta concedi, et puerilis stola, nativitatis insignia, non potestatis, generis, non honoris, ordinis, non superstitionis. Ceterum purpura vel cetera insignia dignitatum et potestatum, insertæ dignitati et potestatibus idololatriæ ab initio dicata profanationis suæ maculam, cum præterea ipsis etiam idolis induantur prætextæ et trabeæ et laticlavi, fasces quoque et virgæ præferantur, et merito. Nam dæmonia magistratus sunt sæculi hujus; unius collegii insignia fasces et purpuras gestant. Quid ergo proficies, si suggestu quidem utaris, opera ejus vero

Joh. xii. 31. Eph. vi. 12.

[6] *Quodammodo.* So Gangn. and Gel. and Cod. Ag., according to Hildebrand, though Baluz read there *quemadmodo.* Pamel. *Quemadmodum,* which certainly answers well to *sic;* and he is followed by Rig. and Oehl. But as *quodammodo* is the ancient reading, and is intelligible, I retain it.

[7] *ex forma.* '*Forma* apud Septimium persæpe est *modus, lex, ratio.* Exempla sunt Apolog. c. 2: *Suspecta sit vobis ista perversitas, ne qua vis lateat in occulto, quæ vos adversus formam, adversus naturam judicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges ministret.* Ibid. c. 7: *cum vel ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides debeatur.* Ibid. c. 47: *quod rerum forma non sustinet.* Ad Natt. I. 2: *contra formam judicandorum malorum judicatis.* Ibid. I. 7: *cum vel ex forma ac lege omnium mysteriorum silentii fides debeatur.* Ibid. I. 9: *Sed quid ego mirer vana vestra, cum ex forma naturali concorporata et concreta intercessit malitia et stultitia sub eodem mancipe erroris.* Ibid. II. 3: *Quod si ita est, etiam mortalia sint necesse est, secundum animalis formam.* De Test. An. c. 4: *Omittamus nunc naturalem formam timendi mortem.*' OEHL.

[8] *inglorius.* See Pearson on the Creed, Vol. II. note (*y*), on p. 156. An interesting note in Oxf. Transl.

non administres? Nemo in immundis mundus videri potest. Tunicam si induas inquinatam per se, poterit forsitan illa non inquinari per te, sed tu per illam mundus esse non poteris. Jam nunc qui de Joseph et Daniel argumentaris, scito, non semper comparanda esse vetera et nova, rudia et polita, cœpta et explicita, servilia et liberalia. Nam illi etiam conditione servi erant: tu vero nullius servus, in quantum solius Christi, qui te etiam captivitate sæculi liberavit, ex forma[7] Dominica agere debebis. Ille Dominus in humilitate et ignobilitate incessit domicilio incertus; nam Filius, inquit, hominis non habet ubi caput collocet; vestitu incultus, neque enim dixisset, Ecce qui teneris vestiuntur, in domibus regum sunt; vultu denique et aspectu inglorius[8], sicut et Esaias pronuntiaverat. Si potestatis jus quoque nullum ne in suos quidem exercuit, quibus sordido ministerio functus est, si regem denique fieri, conscius sui regni[9], refugit, plenissime dedit formam suis dirigendo[10] omni fastigio et sug-

C. XVIII. 1 Cor. vii. 23. Gal. v. 1. Luc. ix. 58. Matt. xi. 8. Es. liii. 2. Luc. xxii. 25, 27. Joh. xiii. 4. Joh. vi. 15.

points out that such application of Isai. liii. 2, does not necessarily imply more than that the person of our Saviour was unattractive to those who did not believe: not such as to carry with it perforce the admiration of all beholders.

[9] *conscius sui regni.* 'Dominus noster voluit rex hominum fieri, conscius regnum suum non esse regnum hujus mundi. Eodem sensu in Apologetico, c. 21, dixit, Cæsares esse necessarios sæculo, verum Christianos non posse esse Cæsares.' Rig.

[10] *dirigendo.* So in all MSS. and early Edd. Junius from conject. *derigendo*, which is followed by Oehler. Rigalt says that *rigeo* is applied to the stiffness of gold and ornaments; *dirigere* (from *dirigeo*) or *derigere* may mean, 'to dissolve that stiffness;' *dirigendo omni fastigio ac suggestu*, 'for the dissipation of all pride and grandeur.' But Rigalt gives no example of this usage of *dirigere*, nor does he account for such a construction of the gerund of a neuter verb. Oehler, who reads *derigendo*, says *derigere* is equivalent to *frigere*, and that *dirigendo* governs, does not agree with the datives *fastigio* and *suggestu*; 'he gave his own a pattern in being cold to pomp, &c.,' quoting Apol. c. 37;

C. XVIII. gestu, quam dignitatis quam[11] potestatis. Quis enim magis his usus fuisset, quam Dei filius? Quales et quanti eum fasces producerent! qualis purpura de humeris ejus floreret! quale aurum de capite radiaret, nisi gloriam sæculi alienam et sibi et suis judicasset! Igitur quæ noluit, rejecit; quæ rejecit, damnavit; quæ damnavit, in pompa diaboli deputavit. Non enim damnasset, nisi non sua: alterius autem esse non possent, nisi diaboli, quæ Dei non sunt. Tu si diaboli pompam ejerasti, quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse idololatriam. Vel hoc te commonefaciat omnes hujus sæculi potestates et dignitates non solum alienas, verum et inimicas Dei esse, quod per illas adversus Dei servos supplicia consulta sunt, per illas et pœnæ ad impios paratæ ignorantur[12]. Sed et nativitas et substantia tua molestæ tibi sunt adversus idololatriam. Ad evitandum[13] remedia deesse non possunt, cum et, si defuerint, supersit unicum illud[14], quo felicior factus non in terris magistratus sed in cœlis.

ab omni gloriæ et dignitatis ardore frigentibus. The agreement of MSS. seems to establish *dirigendo*. There can be little doubt that this is the gerund of *dirigo*, in the sense of 'measure,' 'adapt to a rule,' 'bring to a level,' as Cic. De Orat. III. 49: *Nec sunt hæc rhythmicorum et musicorum acerrima norma dirigenda.* 'He gave to his own a pattern to level all the high-flown consequence of greatness and power.'

[11] *quam...quam.* See above, c. 4, n. 7.

[12] *ignorantur.* So Cod. Ag., Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. ...*irrogantur*, Latin., Junius and Rig., who, however, in his note approves and explains *ignorantur*, 'It is owing to the powers of the world that punishments are devised against the Christians; it is owing to them that the penalties decreed by God against the impious are unknown (because their persecutions prevent the spread of Christianity, which reveals these penalties).'

[13] The remainder of this treatise is wanting in the Cod. Ag.

[14] *unicum illud*, i.e. martyrdom.

Ch. XIX. [1] *caligata. Caliga,* the boot worn by common soldiers (*gregarii*). Hence *caligati* were opposed to the officers. Tac. Ann. I.

C. XIX. A soldier's occupation is unchristian.

Possit in isto capitulo etiam de militia definitum videri, quæ inter dignitatem et potestatem est. At nunc de isto quæritur, an fidelis ad militiam converti possit, et an militia ad fidem admitti etiam caligata[1] vel inferior quæque, cui non sit necessitas immolationum vel capitalium judiciorum. Non convenit sacramento divino et humano, signo Christi[2] et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum; non potest una anima duobus deberi, Deo et Cæsari. Et virgam[3] portavit Moyses, fibulam[4] et Aaron, cingitur loro et Johannes, agmen agit et Jesus Nave, bellavit et populus, si placet ludere. Quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit[5] sine gladio, quem Dominus abstulit? Nam etsi aderant milites ad Johannem et formam observationis acceperant, si etiam centurio crediderat, omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando[6] discinxit. Nullus habitus licitus est apud nos illicito actui ascriptus.

Exod. iv. 2. Exod. xxviii. 12. Matt. iii. 4. Exod. xxxi. 23. Luc. iii. 14. Matt. viii. 10. Matt. xxvi. 52.

CAP. XX. We must not from habit call the heathen deities gods, or give them divine honours.

Sed enim cum conversatio[1] divinæ disciplinæ

69: *nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem tentet, tanquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Cæsaremque Caligulam appellari velit.* See De Cor. c. 1, n. 8.

[2] *signo Christi.* De Spect. c. 24, *signaculo fidei,* q. v.

[3] *virgam,* 'the centurion's rod,' called elsewhere *vitis.* Juv. Sat. VIII. 247: *Nodosam post hæc frangebat vertice vitem, Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.*

[4] *fibulam,* 'the buckle which fastens the military cloak;' *lorum,* 'the girdle.' Some take *fibula* for the buckle on the boots, *lorum* for the thong which tied the boots.

[5] *quomodo in pace militabit.* Here Tertull. takes an extreme view, not sanctioned by the early church. See Apol. c. 42: *Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus.* Comp. De Cor. c. 11.

[6] *in Petro exarmando.* See De Cor. c. 1, n. 9.

Ch. XX. [1] *conversationis.* Heraldus (quoted by Oehl.) tells us that *conversatio* answers to the Greek πολιτεία, 'mode of living.' In Scripture ἀναστροφή is used in this sense, Heb. xiii. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 12. De Cor. c. 8, *conversationibus Christi.*

CAP. XX. non factis tantum, verum etiam verbis periclitetur (nam sicut scriptum est, Ecce homo et facta ejus[2], Matt. xii. 37. ita, Ex ore tuo justificaberis), meminisse debemus etiam in verbis quoque idololatriæ incursum præcavendum aut de consuetudinis vitio aut timiditatis. Exod. xxiii. 13. Deos nationum nominari lex prohibet, non utique ne nomina eorum pronuntiemus, quæ nobis ut diximus conversatio extorquet. Nam id plerumque dicendum est, In templo Æsculapii illum habes, et, In vico Isidis habito, et, Sacerdos Jovis factus est, et multa alia in hunc modum, quando et hominibus hoc genus nomina[3] inducuntur. Neque enim Saturnum honoro, si ita vocavero eum suo nomine; tam non honoro, quam Marcum, si vocavero Marcum. Exod. xxiii. 13. Sed ait, Nomen aliorum deorum ne commemoremini[4], neque audiatur de tuo ore. Hoc præcepit, ne deos vocemus illos. Nam et in prima parte Exod. xx. 7. legis, Non sumes, inquit, nomen Domini Dei tui in vano, id est idolo[5]. Cecidit igitur in idololatriam qui idolum nomine Dei honoraverit. Quod si deos dicendum erit[6], adjiciendum est aliquid quo appareat, quia non ego illos deos dico. Nam et Scriptura deos nominat, sed adjicit suos vel nationum;

[2] *Ecce homo et facta ejus.* This is also quoted by S. August. Medit. c. 39. Some suppose this to have been taken from the book of Enoch. Bp Kaye (Tertull. p. 300) gives other instances of Tertullian's misquotations of Scripture, which are probably to be ascribed to forgetfulness. In this chapter in quoting from the 96th Psalm, he substitutes *dæmonia* for *idola.* See below, c. 23, n. 9.

[3] *hoc genus nomina.* See above, c. 11, n. 12.

[4] *commemoremini.* Oehl. illustrates the use of the deponent verb from S. Aug. Enar. in Ps. liv.: *Homines malos, quos patitur, commemoratus est.*

[5] *in vano, id est, idolo.* Pamel. tells us that Jerome interprets 1 Sam. xii. 21, *nolite declinare post vana,* by *post idola,* and refers to Acts xiv. 15, ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων, to *idols.* See above, c. 10, n. 12.

[6] *deos dicendum erit,* a Grecism. Lucret. I. 139: *Multa novis verbis*

CAP. XX.

sicut David, cum deos nominasset, ubi ait, Dei autem nationum dæmonia. Sed hoc mihi ad sequentia magis præstructum est. Ceterum consuetudinis vitium est Mehercule dicere, Medius Fidius, accedente ignorantia quorundam, qui ignorant jusjurandum esse per Herculem. Porro quid erit dejeratio per eos quos ejerasti, quam[7] prævaricatio fidei cum idololatria? quis enim, per quos dejerat, non honorat?

Ps. xcvi. 1.

C. XXI.

We must not be led astray by the words of others, either acquiescing when they swear by false gods, or shewing anger when they curse us by such names;

Timiditatis est autem, cum te alius per deos suos obligat juratione vel aliqua testificatione, et tu, ne intelligaris[1], quiescis. Nam æque quiescendo confirmas majestatem eorum, cujus causa videberis obligatus. Quid refert, deos nationum dicendo deos an audiendo confirmes? jures per idola, an ab alio adjuratus acquiescas? Cur non agnoscamus versutias Satanæ, qui, quod ore nostro perficere non potest, id agit, ut suorum ore perficiat per aures inferens nobis idololatriam? Certe quisquis ille est, aut amica aut inimica congressione astringit. Si inimica, jam ad pugnam vocaris, et scis tibi dimicandum esse: si amica, quanto securius in Dominum transferes sponsionem[2] tuam, ut dissolvas

præsertim quum sit agendum. Ibid. II. 491: *Addendum partes alias erit.* Oehl. quotes De Pall. c. 4: *Physconem et Sardanapalum tacendum erit.*

[7] *quid erit...quam.* See De Cor. c. 14, n. 3.

Ch. XXI. [1] *ne intelligaris,* 'lest you be understood to be a Christian.' Comp. above, c. 13.

[2] *sponsionem.* So Gangn. Pamel., Gel. and Rig. *responsionem.* *Sponsio,* on the part of him who binds himself, is opposed to *obligatio,* on the part of him who binds him. The party who would bind you to a certain covenant, in the name of a heathen god, meets you either as an enemy, or as a friend; 'if as an enemy, you are called to the battle, and must fight: if as a friend, with how little risk will you transfer your acceptance of the covenant to the name of the Lord, and so do away with the form of binding used by

C. XXI. obligationem ejus, per quem te Malus honori idolorum, id est, idololatriæ quærebat annectere? Omnis patientia ejusmodi idololatria. Honoras eos, quibus impositis obsequium præstitisti. Scio quendam, cui Dominus ignoscat, cum illi in publico per litem dictum esset, Jupiter tibi sit iratus, respondisse, Immo tibi[3]. Quid aliter fecisset ethnicus, qui Jovem deum credidit? Etiamsi non per eundem retorsisset maledictum, nec per ullum Jovis similem, confirmaverat Jovem deum, per quem se maledictum indigne tulisse demonstraverat remaledicens. Ad quid enim indigneris per eum, quem scis nihil esse? Nam si insanis[4], jam esse confirmas, et erit idololatriæ[5] professio timoris tui: quanto magis, cum per ipsum remaledicis, eodem Jovis honorem[6] facis, quo et ille qui te provocavit? Fidelis autem in ejusmodi[7] ridere debet, non insanire, immo secundum præceptum, ne per Deum quidem remaledicere, sed plane benedicere per Deum, ut et idola destruas et Deum prædices et adimpleas disciplinam.

Matt. v. 44. 1 Pet. iii. 9.

C. XXII. Æque benedici per deos nationum Christo ini-

or allowing them to bless us in these same names, and so tacitly acknowledging false divinities.

him, through whose instrumentality Satan sought to bind you to the service of idols, *i. e.* to idolatry.'

[3] *Immo tibi.* La Cerda quotes Mart. Ep. v. 63: *Hoc sentis? inquis: faciat tibi sic bene Cæsar, Sic Capitolinus Jupiter—immo tibi.*

[4] *insanis*, 'you are furious,' as just below, *ridere debes, non insanire.*

[5] *idololatriæ.* Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. as in text. Junius, Latin. and Rig. *idololatria.* La Cerda, *timor tuus.* No change is necessary. 'The profession of your fear will be the profession of idolatry.'

[6] *Jovis honorem.* Here again Rig. deviates from the old reading, substituting *Jovi* for *Jovis.* Oehl. retains *Jovis,* comparing above in this chapter *honori idolorum.*

[7] *in ejusmodi.* See De Spect. c. 26, n. 1.

Ch. XXII. [1] *coloniæ Genium.* 'In marmoribus antiquis exstant inscriptiones COLONIÆ GENIO, GENIO MUNICIPII, GENIO FONTIS, immo et GENIO HORREORUM.' RIG.

[2] *compensat.* So Rig. and Oehl. from Ursinus. Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. *compensant.*

tiatus non sustinebit, ut non semper rejiciat immundam benedictionem, et eam sibi in Deum convertens emundet. Benedici per deos nationum, maledici est per Deum. Si dedero eleemosynam vel aliquid præstitero beneficii, et ille mihi deos suos, vel coloniæ Genium[1] propitios imprecetur, jam oblatio mea vel operatio idolorum honor erit, per quæ benedictionis gratiam compensat[2]. Cur autem non sciat me Dei causa fecisse, ut et Deus potius glorificetur et dæmonia non honorentur in eo quod propter Deum feci? Si[3] Deus videt, quoniam propter ipsum feci, pariter videt, quoniam propter ipsum fecisse me nolui ostendere, et præceptum ejus idolothytum quodammodo feci. Multi dicant, Nemo se debet promulgare; puto autem nec negare. Negat enim quicumque dissimulat in quacumque causa pro ethnico habitus, et utique omnis negatio idololatria est, sicut omnis idololatria negatio, sive in factis sive in verbis. C. XXII.

Sed est quædam ejusmodi species in facto et in C. XXIII. We must not sign a bond whereto the names of heathen deities are attached.

[3] *feci? Si.* So Oehl. from conject. Gangn. *fecisse.* Gelen. and Pam. *feci. Deus.* Rig. from Ursin. *feci? Sed.*

Ch. XXIII. In this chapter we have not the assistance of the Cod. Ag.; and the most ancient edition, that of Gangn., is in many places undeniably corrupt. Every editor has had recourse to conjecture, and some conjecture is necessary to obtain a readable text.

Neander (Antignost. p. 240) and others have obscured the passage, by imagining that Tertullian is speaking of Christians who excuse the guilt of entering into a heathen bond, by not performing, and not intending to perform it. Tertullian has spoken of idolatrous *acts* and *words*, but now comes a case, nominally neither *act* nor *word*, yet virtually (according to Tertull.) both. The case is this: In borrowing money it was usual for the debtor to give a bond for the repayment. This bond was drawn up with the sanction of an adjuration in the name of heathen deities. The Christian debtor signs it, but pleads that he does not know its contents, that he speaks no word, does no act. Tertull. replies, 1 that

C. XXIII. verbo bis acuta et infesta utrinque[1], licet tibi blandiatur quasi vacet in utroque, dum factum non videtur, quia dictum non tenetur[2]. Pecuniam de ethnicis mutuantes sub pignoribus fiduciati[3] jurati cavent[4] et negant se scire. Volunt[5] scilicet tempus persecutionis, et locus tribunalis, et persona præsidis[6]. Præscribit Christus non esse jurandum. (Matt. v. 34.) Scripsi, inquit, sed nihil dixi. Lingua, non littera occidit. Hic ego naturam et conscientiam[7] advoco: naturam, quia nihil potest manus scribere, etiamsi lingua in dictando cesset immobilis et quieta, quod non anima dictaverit; quanquam et ipsi linguæ anima dictaverit aut a se conceptum aut ab alio

writing is essentially the same as speaking, and therefore it is a sin in *word;* 2 and further, that to write an oath, is to swear an oath, and therefore it is a sin in *act*, just as swearing by false gods is an *act* of apostasy.

[1] *bis infesta et acuta utrimque.* It is 'two-edged,' because it is idolatry both in word and in deed, as will be shewn.

[2] *dictum non tenetur.* Not 'because the word is not kept,' but 'nothing is thought to have been done, because nothing is held to have been spoken.'

[3] *fiduciati.* So Gangn., Gel. and Pam. Rig. by conj. *fiduciatis. fiduciati,* 'entrusted with money upon security.'

[4] *jurati cavent.* Comp. Sueton. Calig. c. 12: *pollicitus et matrimonium suum, si imperio potitus fuisset, deque ea re jurejurando et syngrapha cavit.*

[5] *et negant se scire. Volunt.* Gangn. *et se necant, se scire volunt.* Gel. and Pam. *et sic negant. Scire volunt.* Jun. and Rig. *et sic negant scire. Volunt.* Oehl. *et se negant; se scire volunt.* Oehler's explanation is unsatisfactory. The reading of the text involves a very slight deviation from the ancient reading.

[6] *Volunt scilicet...* Gangn. and Oehl. *locus...persona.* Gel., Pam. and Rig. *locum...personam.* Oehler explains *persecutionis judicariæ* as 'the prosecution in a court of law.' 'As if, at the time of a judicial trial, the tribunal and judge would enquire whether the party signing knew what he signed.' Neander, 'When the other party demands the money, they argue that the bond is not drawn up in the ordinary form, and so not binding.' (*Scire volunt tempus persecutionis,* 'the time of legal proceedings.') I take it thus: 'I suppose the time of persecution, the place of the tribunal, the person of the judge [before whom you may be summoned as a Christian] will have you sign.' Tertullian would

traditum. Jam ne dicatur, Alius dictavit; hic conscientiam appello, an quod alius dictavit anima suscipiat et sive comitante sive residente lingua ad manum transmittat. Et bene, quod[8] in animo et conscientia delinqui Dominus dixit. Si, inquit, concupiscentia vel malitia in cor hominis ascenderit[9], pro facto teneri[10]. Cavisti igitur, quod in cor tuum plane ascendit, quod neque ignorasse te contendere potes neque noluisse. Nam cum caveres, scisti, cum scires, utique voluisti; et es tam in facto[11] quam cogitatu, nec potes leviore crimine majus excludere, ut dicas falsum plane effici, cavendo quod non facis[12]. Tamen non negavi, quia

C. XXIII.

Matt. v. 21.
Matt. xv. 18.

shame the Christian by shewing that the threat of persecution enjoins this compliance, while Christ condemns it.

[7] *naturam et conscientiam.* The plea is, That is no oath which is written, not spoken. Tertull. in answer, 1 appeals to the nature of the thing, shewing that the soul must dictate what the hand writes; and that if you say, the soul may dictate either what is conceived by itself, or what is delivered by another, there is precisely the same ambiguity in the case of speaking: 'to the tongue also the soul may have dictated what has been conceived by itself, or what has been delivered by another.' So there is no foundation for any difference between the *lingua* and *littera*, on that ground; 2 he appeals to the conscience whether, in the case of any dictation, the soul does not first receive, and, whether the tongue be aiding or be inactive, transmit the words to the hand. But the Lord has declared us to be liable for the *act*, if the thought has come into the heart. Your bond then must have come into your heart. Therefore you cannot plead ignorance, or absence of intention.

[8] *bene quod.* See above, c. 5, n. 10.

[9] *in cor hominis ascenderit.* Tertullian quotes carelessly, mixing up Matt. v. 21, and Matt. xv. 18. See above, c. 20, n. 2.

[10] *teneri.* So Gangn. Gel. and Pam. *teneris*. *teneri* depends on *inquit*.

[11] *et es tam in facto.* Gangn. *et est tam.* Oehl. by conj. *egisti tam.* Gel., Pam. and Rig. *es tam.* Latinius conj. *hæres tam.* The sense is the same. 'You are in (*i. e.* you are convicted in) *act* as well as *thought*.

[12] *nec potes leviore.... gravius crimen* is *facto; levius* is *cogitatu.* Tertull. has shewn that he who has given such a bond (*cavit*) must have been guilty, *cogitatu;* and has added that this implies guilt, *facto.* 'You are convicted of guilt in act no less than in thought, nor can you

C. XXIII. non juravi[13]. Quoniam, etsi nihil tale fecisses, sic tamen dicereris dejerare, fecisse si consenseris. Non valet tacita vox in stilo, et mutus in litteris sonus[14]. At enim Zacharias temporali vocis orbatione mulctatus cum animo collocutus linguam irritam transit, cum[15] manibus suis a corde dictat et
Luc. i. 63. nomen filii sine ore pronuntiat: loquitur in stilo, auditur in cera manus omni sono clarior, littera omni ore vocalior. Quære, an dixerit qui dixisse compertus est. Dominum oremus, ne qua nos ejusmodi contractus necessitas circumsistat, et, si ita evenerit, det fratribus operandi copiam, vel nobis abrumpendæ omnis necessitatis constantiam, ne illæ litteræ negatrices vicariæ oris nostri in die judicii adversus nos proferantur signatæ signis, non jam advocatorum[16], sed angelorum.

C. XXIV. Inter hos scopulos et sinus, inter hæc vada et freta idololatriæ velificata Spiritu Dei fides navigat,

Strong as may be the temptations, idolatry must be avoided by all who remain in the church.

by admitting the lesser charge, get rid of the greater, so as to say that it is evidently falsified by your giving security for what you do not actually do.' *Cavendo quod non facis.* The bond provided that in case of non-payment the debtor should perform certain things by way of penalty, which he does not perform, because he pays the money.

[13] *Tamen non negavi, quia non juravi.* The words of the opponent: 'Yet I have not denied the Lord because I have not sworn.' Tertull. replies, 'You have denied him, since even had you done nothing of the sort, yet if you have acknowledged that you have done it, you would even so be said to swear.' Gangn. *quoniam.* Gel., Pam. and Rig. *Immo.* Gangn. *fecisse si.* Gel., Pam. and Rig. *si* (omiss. *fecisse.*)

[14] *Non valet...* The words of the opponent; answered, as is usual, with *At enim.*

[15] *cum.* So Oehl. by conject. Gangn. *eam.* The rest omit it.

[16] *advocatorum,* friends who were called in to be witnesses to the deed. Rig. quotes Varr. de R. R. II. 5: *Tu vero, Murri, mihi veni advocatus, dum asses solvo Palilibus, si postea a me repetant, ut testimonium perhibere possis.*

Ch. XXIV. [1] *attonita,* 'watchful because struck with awe at the danger.' Rig. quotes De Fug. in Pers. c. 1: *Sed quando Deus magis*

tuta si cauta, secura si attonita[1]. Ceterum inenatabile excussis profundum est, inextricabile impactis naufragium est, irrespirabile devoratis hypobrychium[2] in idololatria. Quicumque fluctus ejus offocant[3], omnis vertex[4] ejus ad inferos desorbet. Nemo dicat, Quis tam tuto præcavebit? Exeundum de saeculo[5] erit. Quasi non tanti sit exire, quam idololatren in sæculo stare. Nihil esse facilius potest, quam cautio idololatriæ, si timor ejus in capite sit[6]. Quæcumque necessitas minor est periculo tanto comparata. Propterea Spiritus Sanctus consultantibus tunc apostolis vinculum et jugum nobis relaxavit, ut idololatriæ devitandæ vacaremus. Hæc erit lex nostra, quo expedita, hoc plenius[7] administranda, propria Christianorum, per quam ab ethnicis agnoscimur[8] et examinamur, hæc accedentibus[9] ad fidem proponenda, et ingredientibus in fidem inculcanda est, ut accedentes deliberent, observantes

C. XXIV.

1 Cor. v. 10.

Act. xv. 28.

creditur, nisi cum magis timetur? nisi in tempore persecutionis? Ecclesia in attonito est. Tunc et fides in expeditione sollicitior et disciplinatior, etc. Oehl. adds, De Præscript. c. 43: *Ubi metus in Deum, ibi gravitas honesta, et diligentia attonita, et cura sollicita.*

[2] *hypobrychium.* 'Quod barathrum est in terra, idem est in aqua vel mari ὑποβρύχιον devorans et exsorbens in submersione homines navigiaque.' JUNIUS.

[3] *offocant.* Oehl. quotes Paul. Diac.: '*offocare*, aquam in fauces absorbendam dare.'

[4] *vertex.* This is the old reading. Rig. *vortex.* But *vortex* and *vertex* are in fact the same word, and are used indifferently. See Facc. Lex. in v. *vortex.*

[5] *Exeundum de sæculo.* Allusion is probably made to 1 Cor. v. 10, quoted above, c. 14. Comp. De Spect. c. 8, and above c. 16.

[6] *in capite sit,* 'if the fear of idolatry be at the head' (*i.e.* be foremost).

[7] *quo expedita, hoc plenius.* For the construct. comp. Tac. Ann. I. 57: *quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus.*

[8] *per quam agnoscimur.* Comp. De Spect. c. 24: *Itaque negat manifeste, qui, per quod agnoscitur, tollit.*

[9] *accedentibus.* Comp. De Spect. c. 1: *qui cum maxime ad Deum acceditis.*

C. XXIV. perseverent, non observantes renuntient sibi[10]. Viderimus enim si secundum arcæ typum[11] et corvus et milvus et lupus et canis et serpens in ecclesia erit. Certe idololatres in arcæ typo non habetur. Nullum animal in idololatren figuratum est. Quod in arca non fuit, in ecclesia non sit.

[10] *renuntient sibi*, 'let them renounce their faith.'

[11] *secundum arcæ typum.* This was a common figure. The *raven* was the type of *an apostate*, the *kite* of a *plunderer*, the *wolf* of the *cruel*, the *dog* of the *unclean*. See note in Oxf. Transl. The admission of unclean beasts into the ark furnished an argument for the less rigid disciplinarians. Hippolytus censures Callistus for using this argument, 'Were there not unclean beasts in the ark? Such, therefore, must also be in the church.' Quoted by Bunsen, Hipp. Vol. I. p. 133.

TERTULLIANI LIBER

DE CORONA MILITIS.

TERTULLIANI LIBER
DE CORONA MILITIS[1].

PROXIME factum est[2] liberalitate præstantissimorum imperatorum[3]; expungebantur[4] in castris milites laureati. Adhibetur quidam illic magis Dei miles, ceteris constantior fratribus, qui

CAP. I.

A Christian soldier has refused to wear a crown. Even so-called Christians have censured him. I will shew the unlawfulness of compliance with this heathen usage.

[1] Cod. Agob. INCIPIT LIBER DE CORONA FELICITER. Hence Rigalt adopts the title DE CORONA for that of DE CORONA MILITIS, observing that the subject of this treatise is The use of crowns in general, not only of military crowns. I have retained the fuller title, as being equally appropriate, and having more authority on its side.

Ch. I. [2] In the Cod. Ag. (followed by Rig. and Oehl.) the first sentences stand thus: *Proxime factum est: Liberalitas præstantissimorum imperatorum expungebatur in castris, milites laureati adibant. Quidam illic magis Dei miles ceteris constantior fratribus, qui se duobus dominis servire posse præsumpserant, solus libero capite, coronamento in manu otioso, vulgato jam et ista disciplina Christiano, relucebat.* The reading in the text (with certain minor variations) has the authority of the Cod. Magliabechianus and of Rhenan.: *facta est liberalitas* of Pamel, and *facta liberalitate* of Junius, are merely conjectural. In the reading of Rigalt the use of *Proxime factum* may be illustrated by Plaut. Trin. IV. 3, 3: *Jamdudum factum est, cum abiisti domo.*

[3] *imperatorum.* Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. In the year 196 Severus was associated with Albinus and Caracalla. Comp. De Pall. c. 2: *imperii triplex virtus.* In 198 Albinus was defeated and slain. In 200 Geta was associated with his father and brother.

[4] *expungebantur. expungere* is properly 'to prick off' as in the courts of law, when a case is disposed of. De Virg. Vel. c. 11: *quod supra imtermisimus...nunc responso expungemus.* Apolog. c. 2: *debito pœnæ nocens expungendus est, non eximendus.* Comp. Apolog. c. 44: *qui sententiis elogia dispungitis.* Hence 'to dispose of,' De Idol. c. 1; 'to pay off' as a debt, De Idol. c. 13. Here *expungebantur milites,* 'the soldiers were being paid,' the names of each being pricked off as they received the largess. According to Rigalt's reading *liberalitas expungebatur in castris,* 'the liberality of the Emperors was being carried to completion in the camp.' For this use of *expungere,* 'to complete,' Oehler quotes Ad Natt. I. c. 7: *Hæc cum expunxeris, vives in æternum;* de Orat. c. 9: *quot simul expunguntur officia.*

CAP. I. se duobus dominis servire posse[5] præsumpserant, Matt. vi. 24. solus libero capite, coronamento in manu otioso. Vulgata jam et ista disciplina Christianorum relucebat[6]. Denique singuli designare, eludere eminus, infrendere cominus. Murmur tribuno defertur; et persona jam ex ordine accesserat. Statim tribunus, Cur, inquit, tam diversus habitu? Negavit ille cum ceteris sibi licere. Causas expostulatus, Christianus sum, respondit. O militem in Deo gloriosum! Suffragia exinde, et res apud acta[7], et reus ad præfectos. Ibidem gravissimas penulas posuit, relevari auspicatus, speculatoriam[8] morosissimam de pedibus absolvit, terræ sanctæ insistere Exod. iii. 5. incipiens, gladium nec dominicæ defensioni neces- Matt. xxvi. 51.

[5] *duobus...* Comp. De Idol. c. 19: *non potest una anima duobus deberi, Deo et Cæsari.* De Spect. c. 26: *nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire.*

[6] *Vulgata...* 'Herein the well-known rule of the Christians was publicly shewn forth.' Or according to Rigalt's reading, 'he being now proclaimed to be a Christian by his observance of their well-known rule.' The use of crowns was repudiated by Christians, because they were used in the service of the heathen gods. See Athen. Lib. xv. Plin. N. H. xxi. 8: *Et jam tunc coronæ Deorum honos erant, et Larium publicorum privatorumque ac sepulcrorum et Manium.* Comp. Arnob. Adv. Gent. vii. p. 237: *Etiamne Dii sertis, coronis, afficiuntur, et floribus?* Lactant. Div. Inst. ii. c. 1: *Ad Deorum templa concurrunt, his libant, his sacrificant, his coronant.* Arnob. p. 151: *Sedent in spectaculis Quindecemviri laureati.* Comp. De Idol. c. 18.

[7] *apud acta.* Rig. and Oehl. from Cod. Ag. read *ampliata*, 'the case was adjourned.' The reading in the text (which is that of the other MSS. and early Edd.) seems preferable. There is no mention of *adjournment.* The votes (*suffragia*) are taken, the case is decided and accordingly registered *apud acta:* the accused is brought before the *præfects*, who execute the first part of the sentence by depriving him of military rank.

[8] *speculatoriam.* Rhen. reads *spiculatoriam*, and Turnebus, Advers. xxvii. 20, supposes a difference between *spiculatores* from *spiculum*, and *speculatores* from *speculor:* Torrentius (on Sueton. Cal. c. 52) observes that old inscriptions and MSS. shew that there was but one term *speculator.* The variety of reading sometimes found arises from the common interchange of *i* and *e*. *Speculator* was originally 'a scout,' but he was employed as a

sarium[9] reddidit, laurea et de manu claruit[10]. Et nunc rufatus[11] sanguinis sui spe, calceatus de Evangelii paratura, succinctus acutiore verbo Dei, totus de Apostolo armatus, et de martyrii candida[12] melius coronatus, donativum[13] Christi in carcere exspectat. Exinde sententiæ super illo, nescio an Christianorum (non enim aliæ ethnicorum), ut de abrupto et præcipiti et mori cupido, qui de habitu interrogatus nomini negotium fecerit[14], solus scilicet fortis, inter tot fratres commilitones solus Christianus. Plane superest, ut etiam martyria recusare meditentur, qui prophetias[15] ejusdem Spiritus Sancti respuerunt. Mussitant denique tam bonam et longam sibi pacem[16] periclitari. Nec

CAP. I.

Eph. vi. 13—17.

messenger, and in other capacities. The *speculatoria caliga* was the more ordinary kind of military boot, worn by *speculatores*. Sueton. Cal. c. 52: *modo in speculatoria caliga*. De Idol. c. 19: *militia caligata vel inferior quæque*.

[9] *gladium*... De Idol. c. 19: *omnem postea militem Dominus, in Petro exarmando, discinxit*. Below, c. 11.

[10] *claruit*. Cod. Ag. has ...*ruit*. Rig. *corruit*, and Oehl. *deruit*, both from conjecture. Both these readings involve a change of subject. I have retained the old reading, *claruit*, considering *laurea* as an abl. 'he shone forth with the glory of the laurel, though it was on his hand instead of his brow.'

[11] *rufatus*. Alluding to the usual color of military cloaks. Mart. xiv. Ep. 129: *Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis, Ille placet pueris, militibusque color*.

[12] *de martyrii candida* sc. *corona*. La C. quotes Bed. Serm. 18, De Sanctis: *Qui coronam in persecutione purpuream pro passione donavit, ipse in pace viventibus pro justitia meritis dabit candidas*. Some read *coronandus*. Baronius supposes the soldier to have been put to the torture forthwith, and to be now awaiting his death. In these times those who suffered for the faith, though not put to death, were called *martyres*. Comp. De Idol. c. 14, n. 5, and Bunsen's Hippolytus, Vol. I. p. 137.

[13] *donativum*. La C. quotes Petr. Damianus: *In talis quippe militiæ arma jurasti, quæ nudos et agiles expetit bellatores: onustos autem atque in Deo segnes a castrorum excubiis arcet, donativi immunes*.

[14] *qui nomini negotium fecerit*, 'for having brought danger upon the whole body of Christians.' For the use of *nomen*, see De Idol. c. 14, n. 2.

[15] *prophetias*. The prophecies peculiar to Montanism. See Kaye's Tertull. p. 16—19.

[16] *tam longam et bonam pacem*.

CAP. I. dubito quosdam Scripturas emigrare[17], sarcinas expedire, fugæ accingi de civitate in civitatem. Nullam enim aliam Evangelio memoriam curant. Novi et pastores eorum in pace leones, in prælio cervos. Sed de quæstionibus confessionum[18] alibi docebimus. At nunc quatenus et illud opponunt, Ubi autem prohibemur coronari? hanc magis localem substantiam[19] causæ præsentis aggrediar, ut et qui ex sollicitudine ignorantiæ quærunt, instruantur, et qui in defensione delicti contendunt, revincantur, ipsi vel maxime Christiani laureati, quibus in solatium[20] quæstio est, quasi aut nullum aut incertum saltem haberi possit delictum quod patiatur quæstionem. Nec nullum autem nec incertum hinc interim ostendam.

CAP. II. The abstinence from it has the sanction of custom, which may not be gainsayed. This treatise is not for those who cavil, but for those who desire to learn.

Neminem dico fidelium coronam capite nosse alias extra tempus tentationis ejusmodi[1]. Omnes

The 5th general persecution was under Antoninus, A.D. 167. The 6th under Severus, A.D. 203: this treatise was written towards the close of the interval of 36 years.

[17] *Scripturas emigrare*, 'are transgressing the Scriptures.' Dodgs. 'are removing their Scriptures,' but there is no authority for such a use of *emigrare*. The quotation *fugæ*, &c. is introduced by way of irony, 'they are preparing to transgress the Scriptures by a pretended obedience to one text; for this is the only recollection of the Gospel which they care to retain.'

[18] *de quæstionibus confessionum*. 'quibus quæstionibus confessiones martyrum extorquentur.' OEHL. But *quæstiones* seems rather to bear the same meaning as *quæstio* below, 'upon the inquiries which may arise in respect to confessions of faith.' These subjects are discussed by Tertull. in the Scorpiace and in the De Fuga in Persecutione.

[19] *magis localem substantiam*. The substantial matter of the present case having its peculiar place here as opposed to the general questions of confessions of faith. *localis* is opposed to *universalis* Ad Scapul. c. 3.

[20] *in solatium*. Rig. and Oehl. adopt the reading of Cod. Agob., *quibus id solum quæstio est*, in opposition to the other MSS. and Edd. Oehl. adds the note, *in solum quæstio est non delictum*. But the common reading is surely preferable. 'Those laureled Christians,

ita observant a catechumenis usque ad confessores CAP. II.
et martyras vel negatores[2]. Viderint[3], unde auctoritas moris, de qua cum maxime[4] quæritur. Porro cum quæritur cur quid observetur, observari interim constat. Ergo nec nullum nec incertum videri potest delictum quod committitur in observationem suo jam nomine vindicandam et satis auctoratam consensus patrocinio. Plane, ut ratio quærenda sit, sed salva observatione, nec in destructionem ejus, sed in ædificationem potius, quo magis ob- 2 Cor. xiii. 10.
serves, cum fueris etiam de ratione securus. Quale est autem, ut tunc quis in quæstionem provocet observationem, cum ab ea excidit? et tunc requirat, unde habuerit observationem, cum ab ea desiit? quando, etsi ideo velit videri ad quæstionem vocare, uti ostendat se non deliquisse in observationis destitutione, nihilominus deliquisse eum con-

who are comforted by the circumstance of there being any inquiry at all, as if anything which admits of an inquiry must be deemed either no crime, or at all events a very uncertain one.'

Ch. II. [1] *capite nosse.* Comp. Apolog. c. 42: *nos coronam naribus novimus.* See below, c. 5. *alias extra tempus...* 'in other times than those of such a trial as the present.'

[2] *a catechumenis...vel negatores,* 'from the time of their first being catechumens to that of their becoming either confessors and martyrs, or else renegades.'

[3] *Viderint.* Rig. and Cod. Ag. *videris.* The rest *viderint.* 'Let them look to the source whence the authority for this custom is derived.' *i.e.* 'No matter from what source...' This use of *viderint* is common in Tertull. De Spect. c. 15: *viderit... principalis titulus idololatriæ.* De Idol. c. 11: *viderint, si eædem merces...usui sunt.* Ibid. c. 24: *viderimus enim si secundum arcæ typum... in ecclesia erit.* Apolog. c. 42: *viderint qui per capillum odorantur.* Below, c. 13: *Viderint et publici equi.* De Præscr. c. 11: *viderit qui quærit semper, quia non invenit.* De Idol. c. 7: *viderit an dictum sit.* Tertullian's views as to the proper limits of inquiry as to articles of faith are laid down in Præscript. c. 8—12.

[4] *cum maxime.* De Spect. c. 1: *qui cum maxime...* De Idol. c. 2: *de hoc cum maxime suscepta sit* et passim. Rig. here reads *nunc maxime.*

CAP. III. bolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur[5] amplius aliquid[6] respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti[7] lactis et mellis concordiam[8] prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem

tinct, (as he addresses the catechumens and the baptized as distinct classes in the Idolat.) and there was a renunciation in each. Comp. De Spect. c. 4, n. 2. *ibidem*, 'on the spot.'

[5] *ter mergitamur.* 'Ipse Adv. Praxean, cap. 26: *Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur.* Quem ritum in usu fuisse etiam ætate sua Chrysostomus indicat ad ea verba Lucæ Act. Apost. x. 16, ubi visio narratur oblata Petro, *τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο τρίς.* Chrysost. *τὸ δὲ τρίτον τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ βάπτισμα δηλοῖ.* Ammon. ad Johan. cap. 21, ubi ter Christus interrogat Petrum: *Simon Jona amas me? ἔθος δὲ γέγονεν ἐκ τούτου,* inquit, *τρεῖς ὁμολογίος ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τοὺς μέλλοντας βαπτισθῆναι.* Inde illa formula quam Stephanus II. PP. rusticam vocat. Resp. XIV. *In nomine Patris mergo, et Filii mergo, et Spiritus Sancti mergo.* Tom. II. Concil. Gall.' RIG. See Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 11, 6—8.

[6] *amplius aliquid.* In the time of S. Augustine some raised the question, whether the baptismal profession of faith ought not to be reduced to one article, 'I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God,' after the example of Philip baptizing the eunuch. Aug. De Fid. et Op. c. 9: *Spado, inquiunt, ille quam Philippus baptizavit nihil plus dixit quam, Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum. Num ergo placet, ut hoc solum homines respondeant et continuo baptizentur? Nihil de Spiritu Sancto, nihil de Sancta Ecclesia, nihil de Remissione Peccatorum, nihil de Resurrectione mortuorum?* See Bingh. Chr. Ant. XI. 7, 8.

[7] *suscepti. Suscipere,* 'to adopt,' applied to those who acted as sponsors, hence called *susceptores.* Conc. Mogunt. An. 1313. can. 55: *Nullus proprium filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat.* Bingham (XI. 8, 10) tells us that this was the first decree which forbad fathers to be susceptors to their own children.

[8] *lactis et mellis concordiam.* Adv. Marc. I. 14: *Sed ille quidam usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos unguit; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat; etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris.*

[9] *etiam antelucanis cœtibus.* The celebration of the Eucharist was among the first Christians part of the love-feasts, which Pliny mentions, and Tertull. in Apolog. c. 39. See Acts ii. 46, and xx. 7. But when such evils arose as among the Corinthians (1 Cor. ch. xi.), the celebration of the mysteries was separated from the love-feasts, and it was ordered to receive the sacrament fasting. This is mentioned by S. Chrys. Hom. ad 1 Cor. xi. 17, and by S. August. ad Januar. I. c. 6. Still the remembrance of the ori-

abstinemus. Eucharistiæ sacramentum et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus[9] nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium[10] sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis[11], pro natalitiis[12] annua die facimus. Die dominico CAP. III.

ginal mode of celebration was kept up on the anniversary of the *Cœna Domini*. Concil. Carthag. III. c. 29: *ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur.* See Pole's Synops. in Matt. xxvi. 21; Bingham, xv. 7, 6—8. The account of the celebration of the Eucharist in Just. Mar. Apolog. I. p. 97, shews that it was then separate from the love-feast. Comp. Plin. Ep. x. 101, quoted De Spect. c. 26, n. 6.

[10] *præsidentium.* Comp. De Idol. c. 7. Just. M. (l. c.) says that the president (ὁ προεστὼς) took the bread and wine, and made thanksgiving (εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται), and that the *deacons* distributed the elements to each person present.

[11] *Oblationes pro defunctis.* The Eucharistic oblation not for the deliverance from purgatory, but for the enlargement of bliss, and for the merciful judgment of those who *rest in the Lord.* See the note in Oxf. Translat. Tertull. de Monogam. c. 10: *Enim vero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.* Heraldus on Arnob. IV. p. 152, has a long extract from the Eccles. Hierarch. of the Pseudo-Dionysius. This work, which is probably of the 6th century (see Cave's Life of Dionysius), shews the character of the funeral services at that time. The writer enters into the question of prayers for the dead; expressly saying that the prayers are only for those who have led a holy life; that they are offered, because it is known that God is willing to perform them; that they are not offered for sinners, and if they were, they would not be granted, agreeably to the passage, 'Ye ask and obtain not, because ye ask amiss.' Originally the bread and wine were an offering of some pious Christians. Cypr. De Op. et El.: *Locuples et dives dominicum quum celebrare te credis, quæ corbanam omnino non respicis; quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis.* Hence the term *oblatio* was used for, 1 this offering, 2 the prayer with which they were presented, 3 the whole celebration of the Lord's supper. The Eucharist celebrated at a marriage was *oblatio pro matrimonio.* See Neand. Ch. Hist. Eng. Tr. I. p. 457, foll. Heraldus quotes Cypr. Ep. III. 6: *Denique et dies eorum, quibus excedunt, annotate; ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus. Quanquam Tertullus...significet mihi dies, quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt, ut celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum.* See Bingh. XXIII. 3, 12—17.

[12] *natalitiis.* The day of martyrdom was celebrated as the birth-

CAP. III. jejunium[13] nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare[14]. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri[15] aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum[16], ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina[17], ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo[18] terimus.

CAP. IV.

Tradition institutes, usage confirms, faith observes, and reason supports, custom. Principle is developed in practice.

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[13] *Die dominico jejunium.* Comp. De Idol. c. 14. See Bingh. XIII. 8, 3. See below, c. 11, n. 9.

[14] *geniculis adorare.* Bingham (l. c.) quotes Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. 95, where it is said, on the authority of Irenæus, that Christians prayed kneeling six days in token of the fall, and standing on the Lord's day and in the Pentecostic season in token of the Resurrection, and that this custom originated in apostolic times.

[15] *aut panis etiam nostri,* 'or even of our bread,' the sacramental bread. Rigalt quotes August. ap. Gratian. I. I: *Quanta solicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat!* La Cerda follows Pamel. in interpreting *etiam nostri* even ordinary, as opposed to sacramental bread. Note the use of *panis* for the *consecrated* element. Comp. above, *panem.* De Idol. c. 1, n. 5. Also Ad Uxor. II. 5: *Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes? et si sciverit panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur?*

[16] *calceatum.* Comp. Plin. N. H. XXVIII. 7: *Inter amuleta est, inspuere in calciamentum dextri pedis, antequam induatur.*

[17] *ad lumina.* The time of lighting lamps was held sacred both by heathens and Christians. La C. quotes Varro De L. L. [VIII. 4]:

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veteribus docere conveniet. Apud Judæos tam sollemne est feminis eorum velamen capitis, ut inde noscantur. Quæro legem. Apostolum differo[1]. Si Rebecca conspecto procul sponso velamen in- Gen. xxiv. 65.
vasit, privatus pudor legem facere non potuit. Aut causæ suæ fecerit[2]: tegantur virgines solæ, et hoc nuptum venientes, nec antequam cognoverint sponsos. Si et Susanna in judicio revelata argumentum Susan. 32.
velandi præstat, possum dicere, Et hic velamen arbitrii fuit. Rea venerat, erubescens de infamia sua, merito abscondens decorem, vel quia timens jam placere. Ceterum in stadio mariti non putem velatam deambulasse quæ placuit. Fuerit nunc velata semper: in ipsa quoque legem habitus requiro, vel in quacumque alia[3]. Si legem nusquam

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3 *in ipsa quoque...* 'look in vain for a law in the case of Susanna, or in that of any individual.'

CAP. III. jejunium[13] nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare[14]. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri[15] aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum[16], ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina[17], ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo[18] terimus.

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CAP. IV. reperio, sequitur ut traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli auctoritatem ex interpretatione rationis[4]. His igitur exemplis renuntiatum erit, posse etiam non scriptam traditionem in observatione defendi, confirmatam consuetudine, idonea teste probatæ tunc traditionis ex perseverantia observationis[5]. Consuetudo autem etiam in civilibus rebus pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex, nec differt Scriptura an ratione consistat, quando et legem ratio commendet. Porro si ratione lex constat, lex erit omne jam quod ratione constiterit a quocumque productum[6]. An non putas omni fideli licere concipere et constituere, duntaxat quod Deo congruat, quod disciplinæ conducat, quod saluti proficiat, dicente Domino, Cur autem non et a vobis ipsis quod justum judicatis? Ut non de judicio tantum, sed de omni sententia rerum examinandarum dicit et apostolus, Siquid ignoratis, Deus vobis revelabit, solitus et ipse consilium subministrare, cum præceptum Domini non habebat, et dicere a semetipso,

Luc. xii. 57. Phil. iii. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 25. 2 Cor. viii. 8.

[4] *habiturum quandoque...* 'Tradition first established as an usage this custom, which was in after times to have its authority set forth by an apostle, by way of an interpretation of the principle upon which it had been grounded. Tertull. refers to the argument of S. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 3—15.

[5] *confirmatam consuetudine.* An unwritten tradition may find its defence in the very fact of its observance, seeing that it has been confirmed by usage, which is a competent witness that the tradition has by that time been sanctioned by continued observance. *Tunc*, at the time of its having passed into a custom.

[6] *si ratione...* Even a law owes its obligation to the fact that it is the enunciation of a principle. Therefore any maxim which rests upon a principle, whoever may have laid it down, will have the force of law.

[7] *sed et ipse.* These words are omitted by Oehler, on the ground that the lacuna in the Cod. Ag. is not sufficient to admit of all the words *a semetipso, sed et ipse.* The omission is not essential to the sense of the passage, and as the other

sed et ipse[7] Spiritum Dei habens deductorem omnis veritatis. Itaque consilium ejus divini jam præcepti instar obtinuit de rationis divinæ patrocinio. Hanc[8] nunc expostula, salvo traditionis respectu, quocumque traditore censetur, nec auctorem respicias, sed auctoritatem, et imprimis consuetudinis ipsius, quæ propterea colenda est, ne non sit rationis interpres[9], ut, si et hanc Deus dederit, tunc discas[10] non an observanda sit tibi consuetudo, sed cur[11].

CAP. IV.

1 Cor. vii. 40. Joh. xvi. 13.

CAP V.

To wear crowns on the head is unnatural.

Major efficitur ratio Christianarum observationum, cum illas etiam natura defendit, quæ prima omnium disciplina est. Ideoque hæc prima præscribit coronam capiti non convenire. Puto autem naturæ Deus noster est, qui figuravit hominem et fructibus rerum appetendis, judicandis, consequendis, certos in eo sensus ordinavit per propria membrorum quodammodo organa. Auditum in auribus fodit, visum in oculis accendit, gustum in ore conclusit, odoratum in naribus ventilavit, contactum in manibus æstimavit[1]. Per hæc exterioris hominis

MSS. and Edd. retain them, I have left them in the text.

[8] *Hanc*, sc. *rationem*. *Ratio* is 'the reason of the thing,' the principle upon which an usage rests. *Hanc expostula*, 'demand the reason of the thing,' 'strive to discover the principle of a particular usage.'

[9] *propterea colenda...* Usage 'is therefore to be regarded lest (failing usage) there cease to be any interpreter of reason.' The *ratio* developes itself in usage, so that usage is an *interpres rationis*.

[10] *ut, si et hanc...* 'in order that if God shall have granted you to arrive at this (the reason of the thing) also, you may then learn, not whether any usage ought to be observed, but why.'

[11] *sed cur.* The reading of the text is a happy emendation of Oehler. The common reading was *an non observanda sit. Sed cur. Sed* beginning a fresh chapter. Rig. read *non an*, from Cod. Ag., and made the chapter end at *disciplina est;* reading the sentence thus, *non an observanda sit, sed cur major efficitur..... disciplina est.* Gangn. and Pamel. read *exigitur*, but the rest *efficitur*.

Ch. V. [1] *æstimavit*, 'set the cri-

CAP. V. ministeria interiori homini administrantia fructus munerum divinorum ad animam deducuntur a sensibus[2]. Quis igitur fructus ex floribus? Substantia enim propria, certe præcipua, coronarum flores agri. Aut odor, inquis, aut color, aut pariter utrumque. Qui erunt sensus coloris, odoris? visus, opinor, et odoratus. Istos sensus quæ membra sortita sunt? oculi, nisi fallor, et nares. Utere itaque floribus visu et odoratu, quorum sensuum fructus est, utere per oculos et nares, quorum sensuum membra sunt[3]. Substantia tibi a Deo tradita est, habitus a sæculo. Quamquam nec habitus

terion of touch in the hands.' Cod. Ag. and two other MSS. read *extimavit*. Rig. (followed by Oehl.) adopts this reading, explaining *extimare*, 'to place in the extremities,' from *extimus*, i. e. *extremus*. Rig. cites from De Cult. Fœm. II. 9, *in extimatione temporum*, but there the Cod. Ag. has *existimatione;* the two MSS. which have *extimavit* here, have there *extimationem*, and the rest *æstimationem*. Ducange (in v. *extimare*) tells us that in ecclesiastical writers *extimare* is used for *existimare*, or for *æstimare*. This seems to me conclusive against Rigalt's new interpretation of *extimare*, and in favour of the reading of the text, although *æstimavit* seems a poor expression after *fodit*, *accendit*, etc.

[2] *Per hæc...* Rig. follows the Cod. Ag. and reads, *Per hæc exterioris hominis administrantia munerum divinorum ab anima deducuntur adsensus*. 'Tertulliani sententia est: per hæc organa, aurium scilicet, oris, oculorum, narium ac denique manuum, quæ omnia exteriori homini, id est, corpori adfamulantur et administrant, rerum naturalium, quæ sunt a Deo hominum gratia conditæ, adsensum sive approbationem ab anima deduci. Nempe anima est quæ audit, anima est quæ videt, anima est quæ sentit. Ab anima deducitur vis illa audiendi, videndi, sentiendi. Itaque animæ sentienti recte adsentire dicuntur aures, oculi, manus, per quæ anima audit, videt, tangit.' RIG. This is, as Oehler remarks, an instance of Rigalt's excessive regard to the Cod. Ag. The reading in the text is easy and intelligible. *ministeria*, 'the organs of sense.' Oehl. quotes Ad Natt. I. 18: *linguam suam, totum eradicatæ confessionis ministerium*. *A sensibus* ἀπὸ, not (as Oehl.) ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων. *Sensus*, 'the physical sensations,' as *visus*, *odoratus*, etc. 'Through the instrumentality of the organs of sense, which, being the ministers of the outward man, minister besides to the inner man, the enjoyment of the gifts of God are transmitted from the senses to the soul.'

[3] *Utere itaque...* This is precisely the argument used by the

extraordinarius ordinario usui obstrepit[4]. Hoc sint tibi flores, et inserti et innexi et in filo et in scirpo[5], quod liberi, quod soluti, spectaculi scilicet et spiraculi res. Coronam, si forte[6], fascem[7] existimas florum per seriem comprehensorum, ut plures semel portes, ut omnibus pariter utaris. Jam vero et in sinum conde, si tanta munditia est; in lectulum sparge, si tanta mollitia est; in poculum crede[8], si tanta innocentia est[9]. Tot modis fruere, quot et sentis. Ceterum in capite quis sapor floris, quis coronæ sensus, nisi vinculi tantum, quia neque color cernitur, neque odor ducitur, nec

CAP. V.

heathen philosopher Nigrinus, in Lucian, who calls such perversions *σολοικισμὸς τῶν ἡδονῶν*. Luc. Nigr. c. 32: *οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ᾐτιᾶτο τῶν στεφανουμένων, ὅτι μὴ ἴσασι τοῦ στεφάνου τὸν τόπον. εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ἴων τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι, παρ' αὐτὴν ὡς οἷόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοὴν, ἵν' ὡς πλεῖστον ἀνέσπων τῆς ἡδονῆς.* Comp. Minuc. Fel. c. 38: *Sane quod caput non coronamus, ignoscite. Auram boni floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus haurire.* Apolog. c. 42: *Non emo capiti coronam. Quid tua interest, emptis nihilominus floribus quomodo utar? Puto gratius liberis et solutis et undique vagis. Sed etsi in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus novimus; viderint qui per capillum odorantur.*

[4] *habitus extraordinarius...* The arrangement which is out of the order of nature (and invented by the world) does not necessarily interfere with the use which is according to the order of nature (and was given by God).

[5] *et inserti et innexi...* Plin. N. H. XXI. 1: *mixturarum varietati, sive alterni atque multiplices inter se nectantur, sive privatis generum funiculis in orbem, in obliquum, in ambitum.*

[6] *si forte, εἰ τύχοι*, 'it may be.' Comp. below, c. 8. Ad Martyr. c. 2: *Quo vos, benedicti de carcere in custodiarium, si forte, translatos existimetis.* Prudent. Adv. Sym. I. 640: *limoque madentes Excolere aureolis, si forte, ligonibus ulvas.* Oehl. quotes other instances.

[7] *fascem.* Cic. Tusc. Disp. III. 18, *fasciculum ad nares movebis.*

[8] *in poculum crede,* 'commit them to the cup.' Oehl. quotes Virg. G. II. 332: *Inque novos soles audent se germina tuto credere.* For the custom of putting flowers in wine, see Luc. Nigr. c. 31: *Καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις μετὰ κρόκων τε καὶ ἀρωμάτων ἐκχέοντας, τοὺς μέσου χειμῶνος ἐμπιμπλαμένους ῥόδων.*

[9] *si tanta innocentia est,* 'if they are so innocuous.'

CAP. V. teneritas commendatur? Tam contra naturam est florem capite sectari, quam cibum aure, quam sonum nare. Omne autem quod contra naturam est, monstri meretur notam penes omnes, penes nos vero etiam elogium sacrilegii in Deum naturæ dominum et auctorem.

CAP. VI.

The law of God is written in nature, although nature has been corrupted by the adversary.

Quærens igitur Dei legem habes communem istam in publico mundi, in naturalibus tabulis, ad quas et Apostolus solet provocare, ut cum in velamine feminæ. Nec natura vos, inquit, docet? (1 Cor. xi. 14.) ut cum ad Romanos natura facere dicens nationes ea quæ sunt legis, (Rom. ii. 14.) et legem naturalem suggerit et naturam legalem. Sed et in primo epistolæ[1] naturalem usum conditionis in non naturalem masculos et feminas inter se demutasse affirmans ex retributione erroris in vicem pœnæ, (Rom. i. 26, 27.) utique naturalibus[2] patrocinatur. Ipsum Deum secundum naturam prius novimus, scilicet Deum[3] appellantes deorum,

Ch. VI. [1] *in primo epistolæ.* Cod. Ag. *p..., epistolæ;* one or two MSS. *priore epistolæ;* the rest *priore epistola.* Rhen. *primore epistola.* Oehl. from conject. *primo epistolæ.*

[2] *naturalibus,* 'the law of nature.' Oehl. adopts this reading from the Cod. Ag. For *naturali usui,* which is the reading of the other MSS. and Edd., Oehl. quotes Apolog. c. 1: *Quid hoc mali est, quod naturalia mali non habet?* ibid. c. 20: *quod et monstris et portentis naturalium forma turbatur.*

[3] *scilicet deum.* Cod. Ag., Rhen. and Magliab. *sed deum.* Oehl. shews by instances that the particles *sed* and *scilicet* were frequently confused in MSS.

[4] *Dei æmulus...corrupit.* Comp. De Spect. c. 2. Below, c. 8.

[5] *succidisse.* 'h. e. *succubuisse.* Apolog. c. 27: *conditioni suæ succidunt.* De Resurr. Carn. c. 55: *sed non alia genua lapidationi succiderant.* Ibid. c. 62: *utique nec ulli simili necessitati succidendo corporalis conditionis.* De Anima, c. 43: *nunquam succidere quieti.* Quod ad rem. Cf. Adv. Hermog. c. 11: *Cum revelatio filiorum dei redemerit conditionem a malo utique vanitati subjectam, cum, restituta innocentia et integritate conditionis, pecora condixerint bestiis et parvuli de serpentibus luserint.'* OEHL. Comp. below, c. 8: *corruptelam conditionis qua subjecta est vanitati.* See note in Oxf. Trans.

[6] *scientia autem deficiunt,* 'defi-

bonum præsumentes et judicem invocantes. Quæris, an conditioni ejus fruendæ natura nobis debeat præire, ne illa rapiamur qua Dei æmulus universam conditionem certis usibus homini mancipatam cum ipso homine corrupit[4], unde eam et apostolus invitam ait vanitati succidisse[5], vanis primum usibus, tum turpibus et injustis et impiis subversam? Sic itaque et circa voluptates spectaculorum infamata conditio est ab iis qui natura quidem omnia Dei sentiunt ex quibus spectacula instruuntur, scientia autem deficiunt[6] illud quoque intelligere omnia esse a diabolo mutata. Sed et huic materiæ propter suaviludios[7] nostros Græco quoque stilo[8] satisfecimus.

CAP. VI.

Rom. viii. 20.

Proinde coronarii[1] isti agnoscant interim naturæ auctoritatem communis sapientiæ[2] nomine, qua homines, et propriæ religionis pignora[3], qua Deum

CAP. VII.

Not only the law of nature, but the law of Christianity, forbids crowns, because the origin of them is idolatrous.

ciunt intellegere; hoc est, non intelligunt; deficiunt scientia qua intelligant.' RIG.

[7] *suaviludios.* Comp. de Spect. c. 20.

[8] *Græco quoque stilo.* Alluding to some treatise in Greek now lost. Rhen., because the *De Spectaculis* exists in Latin, conjectured *præcoquo stilo*, 'with an inexperienced pen.' But that Tertull. wrote treatises on the same subject in Greek and Latin is proved by De Virg. Vel. c. 1: *Latine quoque ostendam.*

Ch. VII. [1] *coronarii.* So in Cod. Ag. Gangn. *dedecorati;* but in margin *coronarii;* and this is adopted by Gel. and Pamel. Leid., Vienn. and Flor. *dedecorari.* Oehl. suspects that *coronati* may be the true reading, and accounts for the *dede* as repetitions of the last syllable of *Proinde. Coronarii,* those who espouse the cause of crowns. *Coronaria* is used for 'a maker of crowns.' Plin. N. Hist. XXI. 2, *Glyceræ coronariæ.*

[2] *Sapientiæ.* So Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl., Rhen., Vienn., Leid. and Flor. *patientiæ;* Gangn., Gel. and Pam. *parentis.*

[3] *propriæ religionis pignora,* 'the obligations which arise from our own religion.' Tertullian appeals to the light of nature as discoverable, to all men, but more clearly to those who are of the household of God, before he proceeds to the positive injunctions. Comp. De Spec. c. 2, (where is the same train of thought as to the purpose and corruption of creation): *Sed quia non peni-*

CAP. VII. naturæ de proximo[4] colentes, atque ita velut ex abundanti ceteras quoque rationes dispiciant quæ nostro privatim capiti[5] coronamentis et quidem omnibus interdicunt[6]. Nam et urgemur a communione naturalis disciplinæ converti ad proprietatem Christianæ totam jam defendendam per ceteras quoque species coronarum, quæ aliis usibus prospectæ videntur, ut aliis substantiis structæ, ne, quia non ex floribus constant, quorum usum natura signavit, ut ipsa hæc laurea militaris, non credantur admittere sectæ interdictionem, quia evaserint naturæ præscriptionem. Video igitur et curiosius et plenius agendum ab originibus usque ad profectus et excessus rei. Litteræ ad hoc sæculares necessariæ. De suis enim instrumentis sæcularia probari necesse est. Quantulas[7] attigi, credo sufficient. Si fuit aliqua Pandora, quam primam feminarum memorat

tus Deum norunt...de longinquo, non de proximo, necesse est ignorent, etc. Then in c. 3: *Hac conscientia instructi adversus opinionem ethnicorum convertamur magis ad nostrorum detractatus.*

[4] *de proximo.* All MSS. except Cod. Ag. *proximo.* Cod. Ag. *de proxime,* whence Rig. and Oehl. *de proximo.* This is confirmed by De Spect. c. 2, quoted above.

[5] *nostro privatim capiti,* 'to the head of us Christians peculiarly.' For the constr. of *interdicunt,* see De Idol. c. 4, n. 2.

[6] *Proinde...interdicunt.* 'Therefore let these crown-lovers own meanwhile, as men, the authority of nature by reason of common wisdom, and as the nearest worshippers of the God of nature, let them own the assurances of their own religion; and then let them, over and above, examine the other grounds also, which prohibit crowns and indeed all ornament to our heads in particular.' La Cerda adopts a strange interpretation, making *colentes* govern *homines, propriæ religionis pignora* and *Deum,* and hence deriving sanction for the worship of saints (*homines*) and relics (*religionis pignora*), as well as of God.

[7] *Quantulas.* 'However slight may be the knowledge which I have attained, it will, I think, be enough for my purpose.' Oehler says, that Tertullian here uses *quantulas,* as elsewhere *quanti* for *quot.* But *quanti* expresses that the number is large, *quantuli* that it is small; *e.g.* De Idol. c. 8: *Domus vero*

Hesiodus, hoc primum caput coronatum est a Charitibus[8], cum ab omnibus muneraretur, unde Pandora. Nobis vero Moyses propheticus, non poeticus pastor[9], principem feminam Evam facilius pudenda foliis quam tempora floribus incinctam describit. Nulla ergo Pandora. Sed et de mendacio erubescenda est coronæ origo. Jam nunc et de veritatibus suis. Certe enim ceteros[10] fuisse constat auctores rei vel illuminatores. Saturnum Pherecydes ante omnes refert coronatum, Jovem Diodorus[11] post devictos Titanas hoc munere a ceteris honoratum. Dat et Priapo tænias idem, et Ariadnæ sertum ex auro et Indicis gemmis, Vulcani opus, Liberi munus, postea sidus Junoni vitem Callimachus[12] induxit. Ita et Argis signum ejus palmite redimitum subjecto pedibus corio leonino insultantem ostentat novercam, de exuviis utriusque

CAP. VII.

Exod. iii. 1.

Gen. iii. 7.

et insulæ quantæ! Below, c. 11: *Quanta alia inde delicta!* Also c. 13: *Si norit quantos dæmonas etiam ostiis diabolus affinxerit.* See De Idol. c. 6, n. 3. On the subject of crowns, Athen. Lib. xv. and Plin. N. H. Lib. xxi. collect various stories from ancient writers; but Tertullian's account is not taken from either of these.

[8] *a Charitibus.* Hes. Op. 73: ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια πειθὼ Ὅρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροΐ· ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε Ὧραι καλλίκομοι στέφον ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι.

[9] *pastor.* Hesiod was a shepherd as well as Moses. Comp. Exod. iii. 1, and Hes. Theog. 23, ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑπὸ ζαθέοιο.

[10] *ceteros.* So in all MSS. Most of the commentators have adopted some conjectural emendation. Ursin. followed by many, including Oehl. *certos.* Rig. *Græcos.* Hildebr. *veteres.* Dodg. retains *ceteros.* The origin of crowns was attributed variously to Pandora, Saturn, Jupiter, &c. As for Pandora, she (says Tertullian) is a fabulous personage. So that we should be ashamed of the origin even for its falsehood. No less should we be ashamed of it for its truths. For it is surely clear that the rest of those to whom it is ascribed (excepting Pandora) did either originate or confirm the custom.

[11] *Diodorus.* Oehl. refers to Diod. Sic. iii. 5.

[12] *Callimachus.* Plin. N. H. xxi. 3, mentions Mnasitheus and Callimachus as having written on the medical properties of wreaths.

CAP. VII. privigni. Hercules nunc populum capite præfert, nunc oleastrum, nunc apium. Habes tragœdiam Cerberi[13], habes Pindarum atque Callimachum, qui et Apollinem memorat interfecto Delphyne[14] dracone lauream induisse, qua supplicem[15]. Erant enim supplices coronati[16] apud veteres. Liberum, eundem apud Ægyptios Osirin[17], Harpocration industria hederatum[18] argumentatur, quod hederæ natura sit cerebrum ab heluco[19] defensare. Sed et alias Liberum principem coronæ plane laureæ, in qua ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit, cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam[20]. Si et Leonis Ægyptii[21] scripta volvas, prima Isis repertas spicas capite circumtulit, rem magis ventris. Plura quærentibus omnia exhibebit præstantissimus in hac quoque materia commentator Claudius Sa-

[13] *Habes tragœdiam Cerberi.* These words are omitted in the Cod. Ag., but found in the rest. If they are genuine, we must refer them to the mention of Hercules, *tragœdiam Cerberi* being 'the tragic account of Cerberus' defeat.'

[14] *Delphyne.* Oehl. quotes from Suidas, *v.* Δελφοί, Δελφύνη ἢ Δελφίνη. The laurel was especially used by priests. Athen. XV. 13, says that the Carians, in obedience to an oracle of Apollo, only allow willow crowns to be worn in general: τοῖς δὲ θεραπεύουσι τὴν Θεὸν (Ἥρην) ἐπιτρέψαι φορεῖν τὸν καὶ νῦν ἔτι διανέμοντα τῆς δάφνης στέφανον.

[15] *qua supplicem.* Soph. Œd. R. 3, ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι, where Brunck interprets ἐξεστεμμένοι, 'instructi' non 'coronati,' quoting Il. *a*, 14: στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος. It is however probable that *coronati* is the true interpretation. Athen. XV. 13: καταδεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὴν τοῖς κλάδοις.

[16] *coronati. coronati* is a conj. of Ursin. for the old reading *coronarii.* Rig. omits from *qua supplicem* to *veteres.*

[17] *Liberum eundem ...... Osirin.* Diod. Sic. I. 13, says that Osiris was a king of Egypt, husband of Isis, the inventor of agriculture, and was the same as Bacchus, being called *Dionysus* because he was the son of Jupiter (Διός), born at Nysa.

[18] *hederatum.* 'Plin. N. H. XVI. 4: *feruntque primum omnium Liberum Patrem imposuisse capiti suo ex hedera.*' OEHL.

[19] *heluco.* Apul. Apol. c. 59: *Crassus ipse ubi gentium est? An Alexandriam tædio domus remeavit? an*

turninus. Nam est illius de coronis liber et origines et causas et species et sollemnitates earum ita edisserens, ut nullam gratiam floris, nullam lætitiam frondis, nullum cespitem aut palmitem non alicujus capiti invenias consecratum: quo satis instruamur, quam alienum judicare debeamus coronati capitis institutionem ab eis prolatam et in eorum deinceps honorem dispensatam, quos sæculum deos credidit. Si enim mendacium divinitatis diabolus operatur in hac etiam specie, a primordio mendax, sine dubio et eos ipse prospexerat[22] in quibus mendacium divinitatis ageretur. Quale igitur habendum est apud homines Dei veri quod a candidatis diaboli[23] introductum et ipsis a primordio dicatum est, quodque jam tunc idololatriæ initiabatur ab idolis et in idolis[24] adhuc vivis? non quasi

CAP. VII.

Joh. viii. 44.

parietes suas detergit? an, quod verius est, ex crapula heluco attentatur? Athen. xv. 17: *ἀλγήσας γάρ τις κεφαλὴν, ὥς φησιν Ἀνδρέας, εἶτα πιέσας καὶ κουφισθεὶς, εὗρε κεφαλαλγίας δεσμὸν φάρμακον. Τούτῳ οὖν βοηθήματι πρὸς τοὺς ποτοὺς χρώμενοι, τοῖς παραπίπτουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐδέσμευον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κίσσινον στέφανον ἦλθον.*

[20] *Magnam appellat coronam.* We have no other information as to this name. It was probably derived from the throng of worshippers.

[21] *Leonis Ægyptii.* Arnob. IV. p. 147, *Pellæo Leonte.* He is mentioned by many others, cited by Oehl.

[22] *prospexerat.* Comp. De Spect. c. 10: *Immo quod ad artes pertinet, altius præscripsisse debemus, dæmonas ab initio prospicientes sibi inter cetera idololatriæ etiam spectaculorum inquinamenta, quibus homines a Domino avocarent et suo honori obligarent, ejusmodi quoque artium ingenia inspirasse.*

[23] *quod a candidatis diaboli.* So all the MSS. except Cod. Ag., which has *quod agentibus ... latis diaboli.* Hence Oehl. *quod a gentibus candidatis.* Hildebr. *quod agentibus candidatis*, which, if the Cod. Ag. is to be preferred to all the rest, is the best. Comp. *ageretur.* But the other reading is equally intelligible and has more authority. Tertull. calls Jupiter and the rest *candidatis diaboli,* because they were when living candidates as it were for the honor of divinity to be hereafter conferred upon them by the devil.

[24] *in idolis.* Cod. Ag., Leid., Flor. and Rhen. *in idolis.* Gel. and Pamel. *id idolis.* Vienn. *idolis,* and so Rig. Crown-wearing was commenced *by* idols (because

CAP. VII. aliquid sit idolum, sed quoniam quæ idolis alii faciunt ad dæmonas pertinent. Porro si quæ alii idolis faciunt ad dæmonas pertinent, quanto magis quod ipsa sibi idola fecerunt cum adviverent? Ipsi scilicet sibi procuraverant dæmones per eos in quibus esurierant ante quod procuraverant[25].

1 Cor. x. 19.

CAP. VIII.

In the use of things common to all we must make a difference. What is necessary to life is allowable. For the rest we must have a Scripture precedent.

Tene interim hanc fidem[1], dum incursum quæstionis[2] excutio. Jam enim audio dici et alia multa ab eis prolata quos sæculum deos credidit, tamen et in nostris hodie usibus et in pristinorum sanctorum et in Dei rebus et in ipso Christo deprehendi, non alias scilicet homine functo, quam per communia ista instrumenta exhibitionis humanæ[3]. Plane ita sit, nec antiquius adhuc in originem disceptabo[4]. Primus litteras Mercurius enarraverit[5]: necessarias confitebor et commerciis rerum et nostris erga Deum studiis. Sed etsi nervos idem in sonum strinxit, non negabo et hoc ingenium cum

it was invented by Jupiter and the like), and *in* idols (because it was devised by dæmons acting and dwelling in these persons), while still living. So in *quibus esurierant*.

[25] *Ipsi scilicet...* Tertull. shews why *quod ipsa sibi idola fecerunt* especially belongs to dæmons. In truth (says he) the dæmons had themselves provided these honors for themselves, by means of those in whom they had first thirsted for that which they had provided. *esurire*, 'to desire eagerly,' (as in Eng. 'thirst for'). Rig. quotes Scorp. I. *in carcere martyria esuriunt*.

Ch. VIII. [1] *hanc fidem*. The faith which forbids crowns on the authority of tradition.

[2] *incursum quæstionis*, sc. incurrentem quæstionem. A question which intervenes.

[3] *exhibitionis...* See De Idol. c. 6, n. 2.

[4] *nec antiquius adhuc...* Dodgs. 'Nor will I enquire any further back into the origin of these things.' Tert. hints that the things alluded to were in reality of earlier date, but shews that even allowing this not to be so, they still stand on a different footing to crowns.

[5] *enarraverit*. Cod. Ag. followed by Oehl. *enarravit*, and below *exploravit*. But observe *molita sit*, and comp. above *fecerit* and *fuerit*.

[6] *vestietur*. The weaving of dresses was said to be the invention of Minerva.

[7] *propria Osiridis veste*. Herod.

sanctis fecisse et Deo ministrasse, audiens David. CAP. VIII.
Primus medelas Æsculapius exploraverit: meminit
et Esaias, Ezechiæ languenti aliquid medicinale 2 Reg. xx. 7.
mandasse. Scit et Paulus stomacho vinum modi- 1 Tim. v. 23.
cum prodesse. Sed et Minerva prima molita sit
navem: videbo navigantem Jonam et apostolos.
Plus est, quod et Christus vestietur[6]; habebit etiam
pœnulam Paulus. Si et uniuscujusque supellectilis 2 Tim. iv. 13.
et singulorum vasorum aliquem ex diis sæculi auc-
torem nominaris, agnoscam necesse est et recum-
bentem in lectulo Christum, et cum pelvem disci- Joh. xiii. 23. Joh. xiii. 4, 5.
pulorum pedibus offert, et cum aquam ex urceo
ingerit, et cum linteo circumstringitur, propria
Osiridis veste[7]. Hujusmodi quæstioni sic ubique
respondeo, admittens quidem utensilium commu-
nionem, sed provocans eam ad rationalium et irra-
tionalium distinctionem, quia passivitas[8] fallit ob-

II. 37, and II. 81. Lucan, Phars. IX. 157: *Et tectum lino spargam per vulgus Osirin.* Apul. Apol. c. 56: *Sed enim mundissima lini seges, inter optimas fruges terra exorta, non modo indutui et amictui Ægyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque rebus sacris usurpatur.* Plutarch de Isid. et Osirid. gives the same reason as Apuleius. Creuzer, in Herod. II. 81, quotes Hieronym. in Catal. Scrip. H. Eccles. p. 170. F. where he says of James the apostle, *ἔθος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐσθῆτι ἐρεΐνῃ μὴ κεχρημένῳ, ἀλλὰ λινῇ.* That this was a Jewish law, see Exod. xxviii. 39, Lev. vi. 10, Ezech. xliv. 17. For the use of linen in Egypt, see Gen. xli. 42, Prov. vii. 16.

[8] *passivitas*, 'vagueness,' 'promiscuousness,' the vagueness which mixes things together at random without regard to order and distinction. There are two adj. of different origin and meaning, 1 *passivus* from *patior*. Arnob. II. p. 65: *animas passivas esse et interibiles.* Herald. quotes Lactant. D. I. vii. 20: *patibilis igitur non est*, sc. anima. 2 *passivus* from *pando*. Du Cange quotes Salvian De Gub. Dei, VII.: *Quis conjugis fidem reddidit? Immo quantum ad passivitatem libidinis pertinet, quis non conjugem in numerum ancillarum redegit?* Also Ezech. c. xvi. *passiva libido* for *vaga, promiscua*. Apul. Met. XI. 3: *Capilli passive dispersi.* And S. Aug. adv. Adeimant. c. 24: *Si hoc ideo dictum est, ut non servetur panis in crastinum, magis hoc implent vagi*

CAP. VIII. umbrans corruptelam conditionis, qua subjecta est
Rom. viii. 20. vanitati[9]. Dicimus enim ea demum et nostris et superioribus usibus et Dei rebus et ipsi Christo competisse quæ meras utilitates et certa subsidia et honesta solatia necessariis necessitatibus vitæ humanæ procurant, ut ab ipso Deo inspirata credantur, priore prospectore et instructore et oblectatore, si forte[10], hominis sui, quæ vero hunc ordinem excesserunt, ea non convenire usibus nostris, præsertim quæ propterea scilicet nec apud sæculum nec in Dei rebus nec in conversationibus Christi recognosci est.

CAP. IX.

But crowns were never used by patriarch, prophets, priests, or apostles; and the crown of Christ was a crown of thorns, and this used in mockery by heathen soldiers.

Quis denique patriarches, quis prophetes, quis Levites aut sacerdos aut archon[1], quis vel postea apostolus aut evangelizator aut episcopus invenitur coronatus? Puto nec ipsum Dei templum nec arca testamenti nec tabernaculum martyrii[2] nec altare nec candelabrum, quibus utique et in prima dedicationis sollemnitate et in secunda restitutionis gratulatione competisset coronari, si dignum Deo esset. Atquin si figuræ nostræ fuerunt (nos enim
1 Cor. iii. 17. Matt. v. 14. Act. ix. 15. sumus et templa Dei et altaria et luminaria et vasa), hoc quoque figurate portendebant, homines Dei

Romanorum, quos passivos appellant, qui annona quotidiana satiato ventre, aut donant statim quod restat, aut projiciunt. Comp. Ad Natt. II. I: *Sed passiva et municipalis adoptatio est. Denique apud philosophos incerta quia varia; apud poetas omnia indigna, quia turpia; apud populos passiva omnia, quia voluntaria.* Community of use must be limited by the distinction of what is and what is not agreeable to reason, 'because vagueness deludes us by disguising the corruption of creation, in respect of its having been made subject to vanity.'

[9] *subjecta est vanitati.* See above, c. 6.

[10] *si forte.* See above, c. 5, n. 6.

Ch. IX. [1] *archon.* sc. *ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς*, Luke viii. 41. Joh. iii. 1, *ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων.*

coronari non oportere. Imagini veritas respondere debebit. Sed forsitan oppones ipsum Christum coronatum. Ad hoc breviter interim audies: Sic et tu coronare, et licitum est. Tamen nec illam impietatis contumeliosæ coronam populus conscivit. Romanorum militum commentum fuit, ex usu rei sæcularis, quem populus Dei nec publicæ unquam lætitiæ nec ingenitæ luxuriæ nomine admisit, facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis revertens de captivitate Babyloniæ quam cum coronis et post cibum et potum exsurgens ad ludendum sine coronis. Nam neque lætitiæ descriptio neque luxuriæ denotatio de coronæ decore aut dedecore tacuisset. Adeo et Esaias quoniam inquit[3], Cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis bibunt vinum, dicturus esset etiam, Cum coronis, si unquam hic usus fuisset et in Dei rebus.

CAP. IX.

Matt. xxvii. 29.

Neh. xii. 27.

Exod. xxxii. 6.

Es. v. 12.

CAP. X.

A precedent is needed, because there is a wide gulf between God's service and idol-service, to which crowns belong.

Ita cum idcirco proponis deorum sæcularium commenta[1] etiam apud Deum deprehendi, ut inter hæc coronam quoque capitis communi usui vindices, ipse tibi jam præscribis non habendum in communione usus apud nos quod non inveniatur in rebus Dei. Quid enim tam dignum Deo quam quod

Joh. vii. 48, μή τις ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπίστευσεν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων;

[2] *arca testamenti*... Josh. iii. 3: τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης, *tabernaculum martyrii*. Exod. xl. 21: τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου.

[3] *inquit*. 'Primum locum hic obtinet *inquit* ut apud Apul. Met. VI. 13: *sed contortis superciliis subridens amarum sic inquit: Nec me præterit* sqq. Ibid. VIII. 18: *Unus illinc denique de summo cacumine cupressus ad nos inquit: Non vestrorum*, sqq.' OEHL. Others read in the last passage, *At nos, inquit, non vestrorum spoliorum cupidine latrocinamur*.

Ch. X. [1] *commenta*. So all except Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. In c. VII. Tertull. has shewn crowns to be the inventions of the false gods.

CAP. X. indignum idolo[2]? Quid autem tam dignum idolo quam quod et mortuo? Nam et mortuorum[3] est ita coronari, vel quoniam[4] et ipsa idola statim fiunt et habitu[5] et cultu consecrationis, quæ apud nos secunda idololatria[6] est. Igitur qui sensu careant, illorum erit proinde[7] uti ea re, cujus sensu careant, atque si abuti ea vellent, si sensu non carerent. Nulla vero distantia[8] est abutendi, cum veritas

[2] *dignum Deo...indignum idolo.* So all the MSS. including Cod. Ag., except that the *in* of *indignum* is effaced. Rig. and Oehl. adopt a conject. of Ursin., *indignum Deo... dignum idolo.* This is unnecessary. Tertull. has said that in order to have a right to use in common with the heathen a thing that has been connected with their false worship, we must find some instance of its use in the divine economy. And why so? Because the two services differ so widely. 'For what is so fit for God as that which is unfit for an idol? What, on the contrary, so fit for an idol as that which is fit for the dead also?'

[3] *et mortuorum.* Minuc. F. c. 12: *Coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis.* Ibid. c. 38: *Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis exanimi aut non sentienti facem, aut non sentienti coronam.* Plin. N. H. XXI. 3: *Quis ergo honos? Ut ipsi mortuo parentibusque ejus dum intus positus esset forisve ferretur, sine fraude esset imposita.* La Cerda quotes Clem. Al. Pæd. II. 8: καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταστεφανοῦσιν. Eurip. Tro. 1143: πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλῃς νεκρὸν Στεφάνοις θ'. In after times the Christians decorated corpses with flowers. Prud. Cathem. X. 170: *Nos tecta fovebimus ossa Violis et fronde frequente.*

[4] *vel quoniam. vel* is omitted by Cod. Ag. and Rig. 'For so to be crowned is proper to the dead as well as to idols [and so according to the previous proposition is eminently fit for idols], or is customary in the case of the dead, because they also are made idols by the form and service of consecration, which is with us a second kind of idolatry.'

[5] *habitu.* Dodgs. 'dress.' La Cerda, 'modo, ratione, forma.' On *Consecratio*, see De Idol. c. 15, n. 8.

[6] *secunda idololatria.* The first kind of idolatry is the worship of idols possessed by demons, the second the worship of dead men made idols by the act of consecration. Comp. De Spect. c. 13: *Non quod idolum sit aliquid, apostolus ait, sed quod quæ faciunt dæmoniis faciunt, consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus idolorum sive mortuorum sive, ut putant, deorum. Propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum conditionis unius est, dum mortui et dei unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus.*

[7] *proinde* for *perinde.* See De Spect. c. 2, n. 10. Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. *perinde.* So De Cult. Fœm. II. 9, init. Cod. Ag. *perinde,* where the rest *proinde.* This sentence is variously read. Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. as in text, except

cessat utendi. Cessante natura sentiendi, qua vult[9], quis abutatur, cum non habeat qua utatur? Nobis autem abuti[10] apud apostolum non licet, facilius[11] non uti docentem, nisi quod nec abutuntur qui nihil sentiunt. Sed vacat totum et est ipsum quoque opus mortuum, quantum in idolis, vivum plane, quantum in dæmoniis[12], ad quæ pertinet superstitio.

CAP. X.

1 Cor. vii. 31.

qui careant sensu, and *perinde* for *qui sensu careant* and *proinde*. Cod. Ag. *abuti eo vellent*. Rig. and Oehl. *abuti ea vellent*, the rest *abuti vellent*. For *cujus sensu careant atque*, Cod. Ag. *cujus careant sensu atque*. Rhen. *cujus sensu carent atque*. Gangn., Gel. and Pam. *cujus sensu carerent æque, si abuti vellent, si sensu non carerent*. Tertullian is referring to the abuse of flowers in wearing them upon the head, as above, c. 5. But since idols and the dead cannot smell them, Tertull. will not call such a custom an *abuse*, because there is no reality of *use*; but it is what would be an *abuse* if they were sentient. Observe the opposition between *illorum erit uti*, and *nobis autem abuti*. 'Therefore to such as are without sensation, to them will it belong so to *use* that, whereof they have no sensation, just as if they would *abuse* it, if they were not without sensation.'

8 *Nulla vero distantia*. There is no distinction between using and abusing. Here again there is much variety of reading. The text is as in Oehl. The other editions connect *cessante natura sentiendi* with the sentence preceding it. Gangn., Gel. and Pam. *quave quis abutatur*. Rhen. in marg. ed. 1528, *qua velut quis*. 'But there is no distinction of *abusing*, when the reality of *using* fails. Failing the principle of sensation, by aid of which one chooses to abuse, who can *abuse*, when he has not wherewith to use?'

9 *qua vult*, 'h. e. cujus ope et auxilio vult abuti, h. e. abusum efficere.' OEHL.

10 *abuti*. Gr. καταχρῆσθαι. Oehl. compares De Cult. Fœm. II. 9: *Secundum apostolum tamen, qui nos uti monet mundo isto, quasi non abutamur*. La C., overlooking this, is misled by the Vulg. *Qui utuntur hoc mundo tanquam non utantur*. 'Ait ergo Tertull.: Ita abhorret Paulus ab ipso nomine *abusus*, ut maluerit dicere *non usus*, ducens hoc esse facilius potiusque ad docendum.' LA C. Tertull. seems to mean that the apostle's lesson is rather *not to use*, except that it is more fit to guard the living from *abusing*, because to *abuse* is peculiar to them; the dead neither *use* nor *abuse*. 'We may not abuse, as the apostle tells us, whose lesson is rather not to *use*, except that [the living only can *abuse*] the non-sentient neither *use* nor *abuse*.'

11 *facilius*. 'h. e. aptius, rectius. Ita supr. cap. 7: *facilius pudenda foliis quam tempora floribus incinctam describit*. cap. 9: *facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis revertens de captivate Babylonica quem cum coronis*.' OEHL.

12 *Sed vacat*... 'But the whole thing is idle, and is even in itself a

CAP. X. Idola nationum, inquit David, argentum et aurum.
Ps. cxv. 4. Oculos habent, nec vident, nares, nec odorantur, manus, nec contrectabunt. Per hæc enim floribus
Ps. cxv. 8. frui est. Quod si tales edicit futuros qui idola fabricantur, tales jam sunt qui secundum idolorum
Tit. i. 15. ornatum quid utuntur[13]. Omnia munda mundis, ita et immunda omnia immundis, nihil autem immundius idolis. Ceterum substantiæ mundæ, ut Dei res, et hac sua conditione communes usui. Sed et ipsius usus administratio interest. Nam et ego mihi gallinaceum macto, non minus quam Æsculapio Socrates[14], et si me odor alicujus loci offenderit, Arabiæ aliquid incendo[15], sed non eodem ritu nec eodem habitu nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud idola. Si enim verbo nudo conditio
1 Cor. x. 28. polluitur, ut apostolus docet: Si quis autem dixerit,

dead work as concerns the idols, but truly living as concerns the demons, to whom the superstition belongs.'

[13] *quid utuntur...* The use of the accus. with *utor* and *abutor* is an archaism. Lucr. v. 1032: *Sentit enim vim quisque suam, quam possit abuti.*

[14] *Socrates.* Apolog. c. 46: *Idem* [Socrates] *et cum aliquid de veritate sapiebat deos negans, Æsculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari jam in fine jubebat, credo ob honorem patris ejus, quia Socratem Apollo sapientissimum omnium cecinit.*

[15] *Arabiæ aliquid incendo.* 'Cum de se loquitur etiam vocabulo *thuris* uti reformidat. Dixit autem *Arabiæ aliquid*, hoc est thuris aliquid vel odoris Arabici.' Rig.

[16] *cum habitu.* Cod. Ag. and Rig. *cum saltitaveris habitu.* All the rest as in text. *Saltitaveris* seems quite out of place.

[17] *idolis.* Cod. Ag. and Rig. *idolo.* This would make *auctoribus suis* the dat. of the agent, and *suis* for *ejus;* as De Spect. c. 28, n. 1. But *idola* have been shewn to be *auctores*, and *quorum* plainly refers to *auctoribus*, and seems to point out that *auctoribus* are idols. *Hoc* is usually taken as agreeing with *ritu*, 'with this ceremony and dress and decoration men offer.' It seems rather to be in the nom. referring to *idolothytum*. The argument is this. What constitutes idolatry is the ceremony and dress and decoration with which an act is performed. For if by a mere word a thing becomes an idol offering, and therefore forbidden, much more when it is defiled by ceremony, dress and decoration. Accordingly a crown is

Hoc idolothytum est, non contigeris, multo magis, CAP. X.
cum habitu[16] et ritu et apparatu idolothytorum
contaminatur. Ita et corona idolothytum efficitur.
Hoc enim ritu et habitu et apparatu idolis[17] immolatur auctoribus suis, quorum eo vel maxime proprius est usus, ne in communionem possit admitti,
quod[18] in Dei rebus non invenitur. Propterea
apostolus inclamat, Fugite idololatriam. Omnem
utique et totam. Recogita silvam et quantæ lati- 1 Cor. x. 14.
tant spinæ. Nihil dandum idolo, sic nec sumen-
dum ab idolo. Si in idolio[19] recumbere alienum 1 Cor. viii. 10.
est a fide, quid in idoli habitu videri? Quæ
communio Christo et Beliæ? Et ideo fugite. 2 Cor. vi. 15.
Longum enim divortium mandat ab idololatria,
in nullo proxime agendum. Draco etiam terrenus[20] de longinquo homines spiritu absorbet.

made an idol-offering. For this offering is made by ceremony and dress and decoration to idols who were its inventors. On the use of *immolare*, see De Spect. c. 10, n. 11.

[18] *quod.* There is no comma before *quod* in Rig. or Oehl., and Dodgson interprets 'that nothing maybe allowed for common use which is not found in the things of God.' But this would require *inveniatur*. La C. tells us that *quod* is a conjunct. answering to *eo*, 'to whom its use is peculiar, so that it cannot be admitted to common use, even especially on this account, because it is not found in the divine economy.'

[19] *idolio.* Gr. *ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατακειμένον.* Vulg. *Si enim quis viderit eum, qui habet scientiam, in idolio recumbentem*, etc. Prudent. Apoth. 186: *in idolio recubans inter sacra mille.* Du Cang. Gloss. '*Idolium* est locus in qua idolis immolabatur, *Idolothytum* sacrificium. *Idolum* res ipsa *cui immolatur*.'

[20] *Draco terrenus.* 'Junius atque Rigaltius, hic de Satana, ille de Apocalypseos (cap. xiii.) bestia interpretatur. Sed recte jam Rhenanus aliique ad basilisci fabulam hunc locum retulerunt. Isidor. Origg. XII. 4, 6: *Basiliscus Græce, Latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod sit rex serpentium, adeo ut eum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat. Nam et hominem, si vel aspiciat, interimit. Siquidem ab ejus aspectu nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed, quamvis sit procul, ejus ore combusta devoratur.* Horus. Apoll. II. 57: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ (sc. βασιλίσκος) τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ φυσήματι φονεύει.' OEHL.

CAP. X. Altius Johannes, Filioli, inquit, custodite vos ab idolis! non jam ab idololatria quasi officio, sed ab idolis, id est ab ipsa effigie eorum. Indignum enim, ut imago Dei vivi imago idoli et mortui fias. Usque adhuc proprietatem istius habitus et ex originis censu[21] et ex superstitionis usu idolis vindicamus, ex eo præterea, quod dum in rebus Dei non refertur, magis magisque illorum deputatur, in quorum et antiquitatibus et sollemnitatibus et officiis convenitur. Ipsæ denique[22] fores, et ipsæ hostiæ et aræ, ipsi ministri et sacerdotes eorum coronantur. Habes omnium collegiorum sacerdotalium coronas apud Claudium. Sed et illam interstruximus distinctionem differentium rationalium et irrationalium eis occurrentem, qui communionem in omnibus de quorundam exemplorum occasione defendunt.

1 Joh. v. 21.

Look then to the occasions of crown-wearing. Is the chief cause, military service, allowable? It may not be entered into, but may perhaps, under certain conditions, be continued in.

Ad hanc itaque partem causas jam ipsas coronarias inspici superest, ut, dum ostendimus extraneas, immo et contrarias disciplinæ, nullam earum

[21] *ex originis censu*, 'from the account of its origin.' See De Idol. c. 4, n. 4.

[22] *denique* See above, c. 3, n. 3.

[23] *quod.* So all the MSS. Rig. from Ursin. *quo possit.* Jun. *quo posset.* If *quo* be read, *possit* is required.

[24] *sicut et quidam*, sc. habitus vindicantur. Comp. De Idol. c. 16.

Ch. XI. [1] *in totum.* This phrase is common with Tertull. Oehl. quotes among other passages, De Exhort. Cast. c. 1, *non nosse in totum.* Adv. Marc. IV. 12, *in totum autem errabant Pharisæi.*

[2] *sacramentum.* La Cerda quotes Leo, Serm. 3, De Nativ.: *Si cœlestis militiæ sacramentum servaveris.*

[3] *superduci*, 'to be introduced in addition to,' for *superinduci.* Oehl. quotes Ad Natt. I. 11: *Nec tantum in hoc nomine rei* (sc. dicimur) *desertæ communis religionis, sed superductæ monstrosæ superstitionis.*

[4] *respondere*, 'to enter into an engagement.' Ad Martyr. c. 3: *Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, jam tum cum in sacramenti verba respondimus.*

[5] *ejerare patrem.* La Cerda quotes Sueton. Calig. c. 15: *De sororibus auctor fuit ut omnibus sacramentis adjiceretur. Neque me liber-*

rationis patrocinio fultam probemus, quod[23] posset habitus hujusmodi quoque communioni vindicari, sicut et quidam[24], quorum exempla nobis objectantur. CAP. X.

CAP. XI.

*Etenim ut ipsam causam coronæ militaris aggrediar, puto prius conquirendum, an in totum[1] Christianis militia conveniat. Quale est alioquin de accidentibus retractare, cum a præcedentibus culpa sit? Credimusne humanum sacramentum[2] divino superduci[3] licere, et in alium dominum respondere[4] post Christum, et ejerare patrem[5] et matrem et omnem proximum, quos et lex honorari Exod. xx. 12. et post Deum diligi præcepit, quos et Evangelium, solo Christo pluris non faciens, sic quoque[6] hono- Matt. x. 37. ravit? Licebit in gladio conversari, Domino pro- Matt. xxvi. 52. nuntiante gladio periturum qui gladio fuerit usus? Et prælio operabitur filius pacis[7], cui nec litigare Luc. x. 6. 1 Cor. vi. 7. conveniet? Et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit[8], nec suarum ultor inju- Rom. xii. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 9. riarum? Jam et stationes[9] aut alii magis faciet

osque meos cariores habebo, quam Caium et sorores ejus. Arrian. I. 14: *τῷ θεῷ ἔδει καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀμνύειν ὅρκον οἷον στρατιῶται τῷ Καίσαρι· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν μισθοφορίαν λαμβάνοντες ὀμνύουσι πάντων προτιμήσειν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος σωτηρίαν.*

[6] *sic quoque.* 'Hoc est, evangelium non minus parentes et omnem proximum honorari præcepit, quam lege Mosaica præscriptum fuerat. Etenim lex eos proxime post Deum, evangelium proxime post Christum honorare præcepit.' Rig.

[7] *filius pacis.* Luc. x. 6: *ὁ υἱὸς εἰρήνης.* De Spect. c. 16, n. 7.

[8] *Et vincula.....administrabit.* Comp. De Idol. c. 17, sub fin.

[9] *stationes.* 'Moreover will he keep vigils either for another than Christ, or on the Lord's day too, when he does not keep them even for Christ?' *Statio*, originally 'military watch.' Hence the vigils of the Church, *stationes.* De Orat. c. 14 (Oehl. 19): *Si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit (nam et militia Dei sumus,)* sqq. *Stationes* were the regular vigils held on the *quarta* and *sexta feria*, (Wednesday and Friday) opposed to the extraordinary fasts (jejunia indictiva). The fast was not broken till the ninth hour. Tertull. defends the Montanistic fasts, De Jejun. c. 10: *Namque stationes nostras, ut indig-*

CAP. XI. quam Christo, aut et dominico die, quando nec Christo? Et excubabit pro templis, quibus renun-
1 Cor. viii. 10. tiavit? Et cœnabit illic, ubi apostolo non placet? Et quos interdiu exorcismis[10] fugavit, noctibus de-
Joh. xix. 34. fensabit, incumbens super pilum[11], quo perfossum latus est Christi? Vexillum quoque portabit æmulum Christi? Et signum[12] postulabit a principe, qui jam a Deo accepit? Mortuus etiam tuba[13]
1 Thess. iv. 16. inquietabitur æneatoris[14], qui excitari a tuba angeli expectat? Et cremabitur ex disciplina castrensi Christianus, cui cremare[15] non licuit, cui Christus merita ignis indulsit. Quanta alia inde delicta circumspici possunt castrensium munium transgressioni interpretanda! Ipsum de castris lucis in castra tenebrarum nomen deferre transgressionis est. Plane, si quos militia præventos fides pos-

nas, quasdam vero et in serum constitutas, novitatis nomine incusant, hoc quoque munus et ex arbitrio esse dicentes, et non ultra nonam detinendum, de suo scilicet more. See Oehl. on De Jejun. c. 19, n. a. On the unlawfulness of observing fasts on the Lord's day, see above, c. 3, n. 13.

[10] *exorcismis.* See De Spect. c. 26, n. 2.

[11] *pilum.* So Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. Vienn., Leid., Flor., Rhen. *lumbos.* Vienn. man. sec. *lancea qua.* Gangn., Gel. and Pam. *luncho.* Jun. *lonche qua.* These last seem to be conject. Oehl. accounts for the reading, *lumbos* and *luncho*, by the *pi* of *pilum* having been absorbed in the *per* of *super*, and the *bos* or *cho* taken from the following *quo*. In Joh. xix. 34, λόγχῃ.

[12] *signum,* 'the watchword.' There is, however, probably an allusion to the *sign* of the cross. See De Spect. c. 24, n. 1.

[13] The trumpet was used in military funerals. La Cerda quotes Virg. Æn. XI. 192: *It cœlo clamorque virum, clangorque tubarum.* Valer. Flacc. Argon. III. 347: *Inde, ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes, Concussi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit æther, Luctificum clangente tuba.*

[14] *æneatoris.* La Cerda quotes Ammian. Lib. 16: *Dato igitur ab æneatorum occentu sollemniter signo ad pugnandum.* Oehl. refers to inscriptions mentioning *Collegium æneatorum.*

[15] *cremare,* sc. thura idolis. On Christian burial, see De Idol. c. 11, n. 9.

[16] *ex militia.* Cod. Ag. *extra militiam.* Rig. prefers *ex militia,* interpreting the sentence thus, 'aut

terior invenit, alia conditio est, ut illorum, quos CAP. XI.
Johannes admittebat ad lavacrum, ut centurionum Luc. iii. 14.
fidelissimorum, quem Christus probat et quem Matt. viii. 10.
Petrus catechizat, dum tamen suscepta fide atque Act. x. 29.
signata aut deserendum statim sit, ut a multis actum, aut omnibus modis cavillandum, ne quid adversus Deum committatur, quæ nec ex militia[16] permittuntur, aut novissime perpetiendum pro Deo, quod æque fides pagana[17] condixit. Nec enim delictorum impunitatem aut martyriorum immunitatem militia promittit. Nusquam Christianus aliud
est. Unum Evangelium et idem Jesus, negaturus Heb. xiii. 8.
omnem negatorem et confessurus omnem confesso- Matt. x. 32, 33.
rem Dei et salvam facturus animam pro nomine Matt. xvi. 25.
ejus amissam, perditurus autem de contrario adver-

statim deserendam esse militiam, quod ex militia, id est per militiæ leges non licet, aut modis omnibus cavendum, ne quid adversus Deum committatur, quod idem ex militiæ Romanæ legibus vix liceat, aut extrema quæque perpetienda pro Deo, quod omnis Christianus Christo fide dicta condixit.' Oehl. *extra militiam*, 'cum nec extra militiam, hoc est in rebus privatis, permittatur fidem semel susceptam deserere, aut cavillari eam et eludere.' Both refer back *quæ permittuntur* to *deserendum* and *cavillandum*. Tertull. means to say that if the converted soldier remains in the army, he must either manage to avoid transgressing God's laws, or he must die for the cause of Christ. The antecedent of *quæ* is to be sought in *ne quid committatur*, 'provided nevertheless that when faith has been embraced and sealed, we must either quit the service, as many have done, or must demur in all ways to doing anything against God's will (which doings are not allowed on the ground of military service more than on any other ground); or in the last place, we must endure for God's sake, what the faith of citizen, no less than soldier, has agreed to suffer.'

[17] *pagana. paganus* opposed to *miles* as we oppose 'citizen' to 'soldier.' Juv. Sat. XVI. 33: *Citius falsum producere testem Contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem Contra fortunam armati. Paganus* was not used for 'heathen' before the empire became Christian, after which the name was applied to the remote and rude countrymen, as opposed to the more enlightened inhabitants of towns. Herald. Animadv. in Arnob. init. Prudent. adv. Symm. I. 449: *Sint hæc barbaricis gentilia numina pagis.*

CAP. XI. sus nomen ejus lucri habitam. Apud hunc tam miles est paganus fidelis, quam paganus est miles fidelis[18]. Non admittit status fidei allegationem necessitatis. Nulla est necessitas delinquendi, quibus una est necessitas non delinquendi. Nam et ad sacrificandum et directo negandum necessitate quis premitur tormentorum sive pœnarum[19], tamen nec illi necessitati disciplina connivet, quia potior est necessitas timendæ negationis et obeundi martyrii quam evadendæ passionis et implendi officii. Ceterum subvertit totam substantiam sacramenti causatio ejusmodi, ut etiam voluntariis delictis fibulam laxet[20]. Nam et voluntas poterit necessitas

[18] *miles fidelis.* Gangn., Gel., Pam. and Rig. *miles infidelis.* Dodgs. following Rig. translates: 'In his sight the believer who is no soldier is as much a soldier as the unbeliever who is a soldier is no soldier.' But Cod. Ag., the other MSS., Rhenan. and Oehl. read as in text. 'In his sight the believing citizen is as much a soldier, as the believing soldier is a citizen,' i. e. In his sight there is no difference between soldier and citizen.

[19] *Nam et ad sacrificandum.* The argument of necessity may be as well applied to sacrificing and to direct apostasy. There is in that case a constraining necessity of tortures and punishment. Yet this is overborne by the counter necessity of enduring martyrdom for duty's sake. But the whole essence of the baptismal vow is overthrown by an excuse of such a kind, as to loosen the check even upon wilful sins.

[20] *fibulam laxet.* Oehl. quotes De Pudic. c. 16: *Hujus boni fibulam quis illum nesciat invitum relaxasse, ut fornicationi obviam esset?* Senec. apud Lactant, I. 16: *Quid ergo est quare apud poetas salacissimus Jupiter desierit liberos tollere? Utrum sexagenarius factus est, et illi lex Papia fibulam imposuit?*

[21] *Nam et voluntas...* 'For even the will may be maintained to be necessity, since it admits of being constrained.'

[22] *Vel ipse hæc.* Cod. Ag., Rig., Oehl. *ipsam*, sc. necessitatem. Tertull. has reluctantly allowed the possibility of a converted soldier remaining a soldier provided he is ready to suffer martyrdom rather than do an unlawful act, such as crown-wearing. He insists on this condition rejecting the plea of necessity. If there be such necessity, it would only shew that the calling in which it occurs is absolutely unlawful. 'I might,' Tertull. says, 'even myself have advanced these arguments of necessity as a bar not only to military service, but to all other occupations which give occasion to the official use of crowns,

contendi, habens scilicet unde cogatur[21]. Vel ipse hæc[22] præstruxerim et ad ceteras officialium coronarum causas, quibus familiarissima ista ducatio[23] necessitatis, cum idcirco aut officia fugienda sunt, ne delictis incidamus, aut martyria toleranda sunt, ut officia rumpamus. De prima specie quæstionis, etiam militiæ ipsius illicitæ, plura non faciunt[24], ut secunda reddatur, ne, si omni ope expulero militiam, frustra jam de corona militari provocarim. CAP. XI.

CAP. XII. But suppose the service lawful, crowns are unlawful

Puta denique licere militiam usque ad causam coronæ[25]. Sed et de corona prius dicam. Laurea ista Apollini vel Libero sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huic ut deo triumphorum. Sic docet

which cases are perfectly familiar with the sway of necessity, whereas on account of that very necessity the consequence follows that we should either shun office, lest we fall into sin, or else undergo martyrdom to break the ties of office.'

[23] *ista ducatio.* Rig. and Latin. from conject. *ista advocatio.* But Oehl. remarks that *ducatio* is for *ducatus* as *ambitio* for *ambitus.* See De Idol. c. 1, n. 3. *Ducatus* occurs, De Pudic. c. 5: *Pompam quamdam atque suggestum aspicio mœchiæ, hinc ducatum idololatriæ antecedentis, hinc comitatum homicidii insequentis.* 'DUCATOR, ductor. Tertull. Adv. Jud. c. 13. S. Aug. lib. 3. contra Maximum, in Vita S. Frontonis Abbat. cap. 7. Glossæ veteres Ducator, ἀγὸς, προηγούμενος. DUCATRIX. Apul. lib. 1. De Dogm. Platon. *Illæ vero vitiorum ducatrices iracundia et libido.*' DU CANG. LEX.

[24] *faciunt.* So all the MSS. and early Edd. Ursin. conject. *faciam,* which has been adopted by Rig. and Oehl. Cod. Ag. and Rig. *ne si.* Vienn., Leyd. *nec si.* Flor., Rhen., Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. *Nisi.* Oehl. by conj. *Næ si.* The first question was as to the lawfulness of military service. The second as to the lawfulness of crowns. *Etiam militiæ ipsius illicitæ,* 'h. e. quod etiam ipsa per se sit illicita militia.' OEHL. 'More words on the first head of inquiry (that of military service being even in itself unlawful) do not bring it about, that the second question be answered, lest after I have with my whole force driven military service from the field, I shall in vain have put forth my challenge on the subject of the military crown.' Tertull. will not let the unlawfulness of the crown depend on the unlawfulness of the service, but will proceed to prove that point independently.

[25] *Puta denique...* 'Suppose, in short, that military service is allowable up to the point of its being the cause of the military crown.' In order to come to the point now at

CAP. XII. Claudius, quamquam et myrto[1] ait milites redimiri solere. Veneris enim myrtus, matris Æneadarum, etiam amiculæ Martis, per Iliam et Romulos Romani[2]. Sed ego Venerem non credo ex hac parte cum Marte Romanam, qua pellicis dolor est[3]. Cum et olea militia coronatur, ad Minervam est idololatria, armorum æque deam, sed et paci cum Neptuno initæ[4] ex hac arbore coronatam. In his erit serti militaris superstitio ubique polluta et polluens omnia. Quæ jam polluantur[5] et causis. Ecce annua votorum nuncupatio[6] quid videtur? Prima in principiis, secunda in Capitoliis. Accipe post loca et verba: Hunc tibi, Jupiter, bovem cornibus auro decoratis vovemus esse futurum[7]. Cujus sententiæ

both in themselves and their occasions; whether these occasions be military,

issue, Tertullian supposes (for the sake of argument), that the preliminary question has been determined in favour of the lawfulness of military service.

Ch. XII. [1] Plin. N. H. xv. 38: *triumphans de Sabinis Postumius Tubertus in consulatu (qui primus omnium ovans ingressus Urbem est) quoniam rem leviter sine cruore gesserat, myrto Veneris Victricis coronatus incessit, optabilemque arborem etiam hostibus fecit. Hæc postea ovantium fuit corona.*

[2] *Romani*, 'by his connexion with Ilia and the Romuli (Romulus and Remus) a Roman.'

[3] *Sed ego Venerem...* 'But I do not suppose that Venus as well as Mars was a Roman by virtue of this connexion, wherein is the resentment occasioned by an intruder.'

[4] *paci cum Neptuno initæ.* Oehl. refers to Plin. N. H. XVI. 44, and others.

[5] *polluantur.* So all the MSS. except Cod. Ag., which has *polluentur.* Oehl. follows La Cerda, who conject. *polluatur.* Tertull. is now proceeding to the discussion of the occasion of crowns, having first shewn them to be in themselves superstitious. 'On these foundations will rest the superstition of the military garland on every side polluted, and polluting all. Let all moreover be polluted (i. e. be thought to be polluted) through the occasions also on which it is worn.' Tertull. proceeds to point out the superstition connected with the occasions of wearing the garland.

[6] *votorum nuncupatio.* This was in the beginning of the year, for the safety of the emperor. Oehl. refers to Sueton. Ner. c. 46: *Votorum nuncupatione magna ordinum frequentia vix repertæ Capitolii claves.* Comp. Apolog. c. 28, sqq.

[7] *vovemus esse futurum.* Ursin.

CAP. XII.

vox est? Utique negationis. Etiamsi tacet illic Christianus ore, coronatus capite respondit. Eadem laurea in donativi[8] dispensatione denuntiatur. Plane non gratuita idololatria, aliquibus aureis venditans Christum, ut argenteis Judas. Hoc erit, Non potestis Deo servire et mammonæ, mammonæ manum tradere et Deo absistere? Hoc erit, Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ Dei Deo, nec hominem Deo reddere et denarium Cæsari auferre[9]? Triumphi laurea[10] foliis struitur, an cadaveribus[11]? lemniscis[12] ornatur, an bustis? unguentis[13] delibuitur, an lacrimis conjugum et matrum? fortasse quorundam et Christianorum; et apud barbaros[14] enim Christus. Qui hanc portaverit in capite

Matt. xxvi. 15.
Matt. vi. 24.
Matt. xxii. 21.

quotes an inscription, QUOD . SI . FACSIS . TUNC . TIBI . IN . EADEM . VERBA . NOMINE . FRATRUM . ARVALIUM . BOVE . AURATO . VOVIMUS . ESSE . FUTURUM.

[8] *donativi.* See above, c. I.

[9] *Hoc erit...*'Will *Ye cannot serve God and mammon* be this, to surrender to mammon, and to desert God? Will *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's* be this, both not to give up man (which is God's image) to God, and to take the denarius (which is Cæsar's image) from Cæsar? (i.e. in the donative).' Comp. De Idol. c. 15: *Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo, id est imaginem Cæsaris Cæsari, quæ in nummo est, et imaginem Dei Deo, quæ in homine est.*

[10] *triumphi laurea.* La Cerda quotes Tibull. Eleg. II. 5, 117: *Ipse gerens lauros, lauro devinctus agresti, Miles, Io, magna voce, Triumphe, canet.*

[11] *an cadaveribus?* In the other MSS. was found *struitur hanc adverbis,* which gave rise to many conjectures. But the Cod. Ag. restores the text read *an cadaveribus.*

[12] *lemniscis,* 'fillets binding and hanging from a crown.' La Cerda quotes Fest.: *Lemnisci sunt fasciolæ purpureæ dependentes ex coronis. Solebant enim veteres coronas fasciis laniis ex purpura alligatas donare.* Hesych.: λημνίσκους, τὰς στενὰς ταινίας. It appears that these lemnisci were afterwards made of gold. See below, c. 13, n. 2.

[13] *unguentis.* La Cerda quotes Plutarch, Sympos. Lib. 7, where a king of the Persians sends to Antalcidas, ῥόδων καὶ κρόκων μεμιγμένον στέφανον εἰς μύρον βάψας. On the use of unguents, see Athen. Lib. XV.

[14] *apud barbaros.* Apolog. c. 1:

CAP. XII. causam[15], nonne et ipse[16] pugnavit? Est et alia militia regiarum familiarum[17]. Nam et castrenses[18] appellantur, munificæ et ipsæ sollemnium Cæsareanorum[19]. Sed et tu[20] proinde miles ac servus alterius es, et si duorum, Dei et Cæsaris, certe tunc non Cæsaris, cum te Deo debes, etiam in communibus, credo, potiori.

C. XIII. magisterial, triumphal, provincial, festal, nuptial, gymnastic, or other.

Coronant et publicos ordines laureis publicæ causæ[1], magistratus vero insuper aureis[2], ut Athenis, ut Romæ. Superferuntur etiam illis Hetruscæ[3].

in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos.

[15] *causam.* Tertull. calls the triumphal crown the *cause* of the horrors of war, because men fought to gain this honour.

[16] *et ipse.* He who has worn on his head the cause of all this, may be considered himself also to have taken part in the unholy warfare. Oehl. by conj. *et ipsi*, 'has fought even with Christ himself.'

[17] *regiarum familiarum*, 'There is also another military service in the royal households.' Allusion is made to the various military officers in the emperor's court included under the general name of *aulici*. Among these officers were *Palatini, Cortinarii, Cæsariani, Prætoriani, Castrenses, Comitatenses, Speculatores, Stipatores, Protectores, Cohortales, Ministeriani, Ostensiones, Contubernatus, Domestici.*

[18] *castrenses.* In the old days of Rome the *castrensis corona* was the crown worn by him who first entered the enemy's camp. But under the empire it belonged to the court-officers called *Castrenses*. La Cerda quotes Vopisc. Tacit.: *Paruit præceptis et voluntati Castrensium ordo nobilissimus.*

[19] *munificæ et ipsæ...* 'being themselves also officials in the imperial solemnities.' Tertull. calls the crowns (so necessary in all solemnities) a kind of office-bearers in the court. *Munifici* is a proper term for soldiers who bear certain offices (*munia*). Oehl. quotes from Cod. Theodos. XII. 1, 192, *Spontanei hypomnematographi munifici;* and Isidor. Origg. X. 166, *Munificus dictus, vel quia alicui munera dat multa, vel quia munus suum, id est officium quod debet, adimplet.* Observe that *Cæsareanorum* is the adj. to *sollemnium*, and has nothing to do with the *Aulici Cæsareani.*

[20] *Sed et tu.* Oehl. from conj. *tum.* 'Dicit enim: sed etiamsi in hac domus sacræ militia militas, non in altera illa quæ cadaveribus et lacrimis sibi præmia parat, quibus Deum offendat, tamen et in hac sanctum tuum erga Deum officium lædere subinde cogeris.' But *alterius* is 'of another,' i. e. of God. On the use of *alter* for *alius*, see De Spect. c. 14, n. 4. *proinde.* Dodgs. 'henceforth;' more properly for *perinde.* See De Spect.

Hoc vocabulum est coronarum quas gemmis et foliis ex auro quercinis[4] ab Jove insignes ad deducendas tensas[5] cum palmatis togis[6] sumunt. Sunt et provinciales aureæ[7], imaginum jam, non virorum, capita majora[8] quærentes. Sed tui ordines et tui magistratus et ipsum curiæ nomen ecclesia est Christi. Illius es, conscriptus in libris vitæ. Illic purpuræ tuæ sanguis Domini et clavus latus in cruce ipsius; illic securis ad caudicem jam arboris posita; illic virga ex radice Jesse. Viderint et

C. XIII.
Phil. iv. 3.
Matt. iii. 10
Es. xi. 1.

c. 2, n. 10. 'But if they of Cæsar's household are soldiers, you too are as much a soldier as a servant of another, and if you are a soldier and servant of two persons, of God and Cæsar, (as soldiers must necessarily in a certain sense be), at any rate you are not a servant of Cæsar on those occasions, on which your service is due to God, a master to be preferred, I suppose, even in things indifferent.'

Ch. XIII. [1] *publicos ordines... publicæ causæ.* La Cerda quotes Xiphil. in Trajan.: ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολισμένον, οἷά που καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι. Liv. x. 47: *Eodem anno coronati primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos spectaverunt.*

[2] *aureis.* Plin. N. H. XXI. 4: *Crassus dives, primus argento auroque folia imitatus, ludis suis coronas dedit. Accesseruntque et lemnisci quos adjici ipsarum coronarum honos erat propter Etruscas, quibus jungi nisi aurei non debebant.*

[3] *Hetruscæ.* Plin. N. H. XXXIII. 4: *Et quum corona ex auro Hetrusca sustineretur a tergo, annulus tamen in digito ferreus erat, æque triumphantis, et servi fortasse coronam sustinentis.*

[4] *quercinis.* Juv. Sat. VI. 386: *An Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum Sperare.* Mart. IV. 54: *O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus.*

[5] *tensas.* De Spect. c. 7, n. 3.

[6] *palmatis togis.* De Idol. c. 18, n. 4.

[7] *et provinciales aureæ.* De Idol. c. 18: *coronæ aureæ sacerdotum, provincialium.* These crowns were presented by provincials in token of submission. La Cerda quotes Vopisc. in Prob.: *Coronas, quas mihi obtulerunt omnes Galliæ civitates, vestræ P. C. clementiæ dedicavi.* Comp. Liv. VII. 38, *fuit corona aurea pondo viginti quinque;* XXXVIII. 14, *in coronam auream quindecim talenta conferebant.*

[8] *capita majora,* 'requiring now to fit them the larger heads of statues, not of men of ordinary size.' These crowns, which at first were only marks of honour and of slight weight, became a heavy tax upon the provinces. Lips. de Mag. Urb. Rom. II. mentions crowns of 800 and even 1000 lbs. weight. To this Salvian alludes, De Gub. VI.: *Insuper*

C. XIII. publici equi[9] cum coronis suis. Dominus tuus, ubi
Luc. xix. 30. secundum Scripturam Hierusalem ingredi voluit,
nec asinum habuit privatum. Isti in curribus et
Ps. xx. 7. isti in equis, nos autem in nomine Domini Dei
Apoc. xviii. 4. nostri invocabimus. Ab ipso incolatu Babylonis
illius in Apocalypsi Johannis submovemur, nedum
a suggestu. Coronatur et vulgus nunc ex principalium prosperitatum exsultatione, nunc ex municipalium sollemnitatum proprietate. Est enim
omnis publicæ lætitiæ luxuria captatrix. Sed tu
Heb. xi. 13. Gal. iv. 26. peregrinus mundi hujus, civis civitatis supernæ
Phil. iii. 20. Eph. ii. 19. Hierusalem. Noster, inquit, municipatus in cœlis.
Habes tuos census, tuos fastos, nihil tibi cum
Joh. xvi. 20. gaudiis sæculi, immo contrarium debes. Sæculum
Matt. v. 4. enim gaudebit[10], vos vero lugebitis. Et, puto, felices
ait lugentes, non coronatos. Coronant et nuptiæ[11] sponsos, et ideo non nubemus ethnicis, ne nos ad idololatriam usque deducant, a qua apud illos nup-
Gen. xxiv. 3; xxviii. 1. tiæ incipiunt. Habes legem a patriarchis quidem,
1 Cor. vii. 39. habes apostolum in Domino nubere jubentem.
1 Cor. vii. 23. Coronat et libertas sæcularis[12]. Sed tu jam redemptus es a Christo, et quidem magno. Servum

etiam ridiculos ipsi nos facimus. Aurum quod pendimus, munera vocamus.

[9] *equi.* La Cerda quotes Ovid. Trist. IV. 2, 22: *Ergo omnis populus poterit spectare triumphos, Cumque ducum titulis oppida capta leget. Vinclaque captiva reges cervice ferentes Ante coronatos ire videbit equos.* Martial. Ep. VII. 8: *laurigeros equos.*

[10] *Sæculum gaudebit.* De Spect. c. 28; De Idol. c. 13.

[11] *coronant et nuptiæ.* This custom was afterwards adopted by Christians. Claud. De Nupt. Honor. 202: *Tu festas, Hymenæe, faces, tu, Gratia, flores Elige, tu geminas Concordia, necte coronas.* Ibid. Fescen. 46: *Solitas galea fulgere comas, Stilichon, molli flecte corona.*

[12] *libertas sæcularis.* Thucyd. IV. 80: *οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανώσαντό τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον ὡς ἠλευθερημένοι.*

[13] *agonisticæ causæ.* Comp. De

alienum quomodo sæculum manumittet? Etsi libertas videtur, sed et servitus videbitur. Omnia imaginaria in sæculo et nihil veri. Nam et tunc liber hominis eras, redemptus a Christo, et nunc servus es Christi, licet manumissus ab homine. Si veram putes sæculi libertatem, ut et corona eam consignes, redisti in servitutem hominis, quam putas libertatem, amisisti libertatem Christi, quam putas servitutem. Numquid et agonisticæ causæ[13] disputabuntur, quas statim tituli sui damnant, et sacras et funebres scilicet? Hoc enim superest, ut Olympius Jupiter et Nemeæus Hercules et misellus Archemorus et Antinous[14] infelix in Christiano coronentur, ut ipse spectaculum fiat, quod spectare non debeat[15].

C. XIII.

1 Cor. vii. 22.

Universas, ut arbitror, causas enumeravimus, nec ulla nobiscum est: omnes alienæ, profanæ, illicitæ, semel jam in sacramenti testatione ejeratæ. Hæ enim erant pompæ diaboli et angelorum ejus, officia sæculi, honores, sollemnitates, popularitates, falsa vota, humana servitia, laudes vanæ, gloriæ turpes, et in omnibus istis idololatriæ in solo quo-

All these occasions are unlawful, and alien from Christ, being founded on idolatry.

Phil. iii. 19.

Spect. c. 11: *Quid mirum, si et apparatus agonum idololatria conspurcat de coronis profanis.* Ibid.: *Inde et ipsi sacri vel funebres instituti aut diis nationum aut mortuis fiunt. Proinde tituli: Olympia Jovi...item Herculi Nemeæa, Neptuno Isthmia, ceteri mortuarii agones.*

[14] *Archemorus.* The son of Lycurgus, in whose honour annual games were held. *Antinous.* La Cerda quotes Hegesipp. apud Hieronym. de Scriptor. Eccles.: *Tumulos mortuis templaque fecerunt, sicut usque hodie videmus, e quibus est et Antinous servus Hadriani Cæsaris, cui et gymnicus agon exercetur apud Antinoam civitatem, quam ex ejus nomine condidit et statuit prophetas in templo.* They who were crowned in such games are considered by T. to represent the person in whose honour the games were celebrated.

[15] *spectare non debeat.* Cod. Ag. and Rig. *spectare debet.* Oehl. from

C. XIII. que censu coronarum[16], quibus omnia ista redimita sunt. Præfabitur quidem Claudius etiam cœlum sideribus apud Homeri carmina coronatum[17], certe a Deo, certe homini: igitur et homo ipse a Deo coronandus est. Ceterum a sæculo coronantur et lupanaria[18] et latrinæ et pistrinæ et carcer et ludus[19] et ipsa amphitheatra et ipsa spoliaria[20] ipsæque libitinæ[21]. Quam sacer sanctusque, quam honestus ac mundus sit habitus iste, noli de uno poetico cœlo, sed de totius mundi commerciis æstimare. At enim Christianus nec januam[22] suam laureis infamabit, si norit, quantos deos etiam ostiis diabolus affinxerit, Janum a janua, Limentinum a limine, Forculum et Carnam[23] a foribus et cardinibus, etiam apud Græcos Thyræum Apollinem et Antelios dæmonas.

conject. *spectare tædet.* Flor., Rhen., Gangn., Gel. and Pam. as in text. Vien., Leyd. *debebat.* The Christian by wearing a crown becomes a part of the show, of which he ought not even to be a spectator.

16 *in solo quoque censu coronarum*, 'on account of the crowns alone.' On *census*, see De Idol. c. 4, n. 4.

17 *coronatum.* Il. Σ. 485: ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται. La Cerda quotes Plin. N. H. XVI. 4: *Antiquitus quidem nulla* (corona) *nisi Deo dabatur. Ob id Homerus cœlo tantum eas et prælio universo tribuit.* The argument of Claudius is this: The heaven is crowned with stars. It was certainly so crowned by God for man's benefit. Therefore man himself ought to be crowned by God.

18 *lupanaria.* See De Idol. c. 15, n. 1.

19 *ludus*, 'the gladiatorial school.' Schools in general were so bedecked. De Idol. c. 10: *flore scholæ coronandæ.*

20 *spoliaria*, 'the place where the corpses of gladiators were stripped.' Lips. (de Amph. c. 21) quotes Lamprid. in Commod.: *Gladiatoris cadaver unco trahatur; gladiatoris cadaver in spoliario ponatur.*

21 *libitinæ*, 'the biers of the dead.' See above, c. 10, n. 3. La Cerda quotes Sidon. Apollin. II. 8: *Cum libitinam ipsam flentes omnes, externi quoque, prensitarentur, remorarentur, exoscularentur*, etc. The gate of the Spoliarium was called *Porta Libitinensis.*

22 *januam.* Comp. De Idol. c. 15.

23 *Carnam.* Cod. Ag. and Rhen. *Carnam.* Gangn., Gelen. and Pamel. *Cardam.* In De Idol. c. 15, we have *Cardeam.* But Ovid. Fast.

Tanto abest[1], ut capiti suo munus inferat idololatriæ, immo jam dixerim Christo, siquidem viri caput Christus est, tam liberum quam et Christus, ne velamento quidem obnoxius, nedum obligamento. Porro et quod obnoxium est velamento, caput feminæ, hoc ipso jam occupatum non vacat etiam obligamento. Habet humilitatis suæ sarcinam[2]. Si nudo capite videri non debet propter angelos, multo magis coronato fortasse tunc illos coronatos scandalizaverit. Quid enim est in capite feminæ corona, quam[3] formæ lena, quam summæ lasciviæ nota, extrema negatio verecundiæ, conflatio illecebræ? Propterea nec ornabitur operosius mulier ex apostoli prospectu, ut nec crinium artificio coronetur. Qui tamen et viri caput est et feminæ facies, vir ecclesiæ, Christus Jesus, quale, oro te,

C. XIV.

To crown the head is to dishonour Christ, who is the true head of man. Christ was crowned with thorns. That crown alone befits his members.

1 Cor. xi. 3—10.

Apoc. iv.

1 Tim. ii. 9. 1 Pet. iii. 3.

2 Cor. xi. 2. Eph. v. 23, sqq.

VI. 101: *Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur. Dea cardinis hæc est, Numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo.*

Ch. XIV. [1] *Tanto abest*, for *tantum abest*. De Test. Anim. c. 1: *Tanto abest, ut nostris litteris annuant homines.* De Fug. in Persec. c. 2: *tanto abest, ut eam ex proprietate possideat.* Oehl. supposes an ellipse of *magis*. But the abl. seems to mark the interval, as *tanto distat*, rather than to imply any comparison of distance. 'So far,' not 'so much farther.' On the ellipse of *magis*, see De Spectac. c. 16, n. 8.

[2] *humilitatis suæ sarcinam.* 1 Cor. xi. 8—10 is discussed in De Orat. c. 22, and De Virg. Vel. c. 7. In the latter ἐξουσίαν is rendered *potestatem* without further comment. La Cerda remarks that *sarcina* implies the same as ἐξουσία, or *potestas*, 'quæ scilicet imponitur supra caput, habetque veluti potestatem cogendi fœminam ad servandam modestiam, dejiciendum caput, submittendos oculos.' De Virg. Vel. c. 17: *Aliæ modice linteolis, credo ne caput premant, nec ad aures usque demissis, cerebro tenus operiuntur.* The veil is called by Tertull. *jugum subjectionis*, by Chrysost. *insigne subjectionis*, by Conc. Gangr. *memoria subjectionis*. *Illos coronatos*, alluding to Rev. iv. 4, 'much more if her head is crowned will she give offence to those who are perhaps at that very moment crowned in a different manner.'

[3] *Quid enim...quam*, sc. *quid aliud quam*. De Idol. c. 20: *quid erit dejeratio quam*. De Virg. Vel. c. 11: *nihil primum senserunt quam erubescendum.* Apul. Met. IV. 6: *nec juxta quidquam, quam.*

C. XIV. sertum pro utroque sexu subiit? Ex spinis opinor
et tribulis, in figuram delictorum, quæ nobis pro-
Gen. iii. 17. tulit terra carnis, abstulit autem virtus crucis;
1 Cor. i. 18. 1 Cor. xv. 55. omnes aculeos mortis in dominici capitis tolerantia
Gen. iii. 15. obtundens. Certe præter figuram contumelia in
promptu est et dedecoratio et turpitudo et his
Es. l. 6. Matt. xxvii. 29. implexa sævitia, quæ tunc Domini tempora fœdave-
runt et lancinaverunt, uti tu nunc laurea et myrto
et olea et illustri aliqua fronde, et, quod magis
usui est, centenariis[4] quoque rosis de horto Midæ
lectis et utrisque liliis[5], et omnibus violis[6] coronaris,
etiam gemmis forsitan et auro, ut et illam Christi
coronam æmuleris, quæ postea ei obvenit, quia et
Ps. lxix. 21. Matt. xxvii. 34. favos post fella[7] gustavit, nec ante rex gloriæ in
Ps. xxiv. 7. Matt. xxvii. 37. cœlestibus salutatus est, quam rex Judæorum pro-
scriptus cruci, minoratus primo a Patre modico
Ps. viii. 5. quid citra angelos, et ita gloria et honore coro-
natus. Si ob hæc caput ei tuum debes, tale, si

[4] *centenariis.* The ancient reading was *centaureis.* Rhenan. by conj. *centenariis,* followed by Gangn., Gel. and Pamel. La Cerda by conj. *spontaneis,* which he defends by the Gr. *αὐτόματα,* in Herod. l. c., and remarks upon the passages adduced in support of *centenariis. Centenariis* is however found in Cod. Ag. Herod. VIII. 138: *οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γαῖαν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖς φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων.* Theophr. De Plant. VI. 6: *ἑκατοντάφυλλα ῥόδα.* Plin. N. H. XXI. 10: *Cæpio Tiberii Cæsaris principatu negavit centifoliam (rosam) in coronas addi, præterquam extremos velut ad cardines.*

[5] *utrisque liliis.* Plin. N. H. XXI. 11, mentions *alba lilia* and *rubens lilium quod Græci crinon vocant.* Gr. *λείριον* and *κρίνον.* Athen. XV. 27: *τὰ δὲ κρίνα φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος εἶναι καὶ πορφυρανθῆ. Φιλῖνος δὲ τὸ κρίνον ὑφ' ὧν μὲν λείριον, ὑφ' ὧν δὲ ἴον καλεῖσθαι.*

[6] *omnibus violis,* sc. purpureis, luteis, albis. Plin. N. H. XXI. 14.

[7] *favos post fella.* Proverbial.

Ch. XV. [1] *prato. Sedent.* So Cod. Ag., Rig. and Oehl. The rest *Protosedent,* or *Proto sedent.* Ursin. by conj. *Porro sedent.* Rig. explains *cœlesti prato* as a synonym of the rainbow, 'ob speciem smaragdi instar viridantem.' Gr. *καὶ ἶρις*

potes ei repende, quale suum pro tuo obtulit, aut nec floribus coroneris, si spinis non potes, quia floribus non potes. C. XIV.

CAP. XV. Christ will hereafter crown his saints, as he crowns his angels. Look for no other crown but that which is eternal in the heavens.

Serva Deo rem suam intaminatam. Ille eam, si volet, coronabit. Immo et vult denique, invitat. Qui vicerit, inquit, dabo ei coronam vitæ. Esto et tu fidelis ad mortem et decerta et tu bonum agonem, cujus coronam et apostolus repositam sibi merito confidit. Accipit et angelus victoriæ coronam procedens in candido equo, ut vinceret, et alius iridis ambitu ornatur cœlesti prato[1]. Sedent et presbyteri coronati eodemque auro et ipse Filius hominis supra nubem micat. Si tales imagines in visione, quales veritates in repræsentatione! Illas aspice, illas odora. Quid caput strophiolo[2] aut dracontario[3] damnas, diademati destinatum? Nam et reges nos Deo et Patri suo fecit Christus Jesus. Quid tibi cum flore morituro? Habes florem[4] ex virga

Apoc. ii. 7, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. Apoc. vi. 2. Apoc. x. 1. Apoc. iv. 4. Apoc. xiv. 14. Apoc. v. 10. Es. xi. 1.

κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοία ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ.

[2] *strophiolo.* Plin. N. H. XXI. 2: *Tenuioribus utebantur antiqui, stroppos appellantes, unde nata strophiola.*

[3] *dracontario. Dracontaria* were circlets of gold in the form of serpents worn on the neck and arms and sometimes (as Tertull. implies) on the head. Herald. (Digress. I. 23), first pointed this out, quoting Lucian, Amor. c. 41: τοὺς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίοσι δράκοντας, ὡς ὤφελον ὄντως ἀντὶ χρυσίου δράκοντες εἶναι. La Cerda quotes from Clem. Alex. Pædag. II. c. ult.: ἤδη δὲ καὶ φανερώτατα τοῦ πονηροῦ σύμβολα οὐκ αἰσχύνονται περικείμεναι. ὡς γὰρ τὴν Εὔαν ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ὁ κόσμος ὁ χρυσοῦς, δελέατι προσχρώμενος τοῦ ὄφεως τῷ σχήματι, ἐξέμηνεν εἰς ὕβρεις, σμυραίνας τινὰς καὶ ὄφεις ἀποπλαττομένας εἰς εὐπρέπειαν. λέγει γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς Νικόστρατος ἀλύσεις, καθετῆρας, δακτυλίους, βουβάλια, ὄφεις, περισκελίδας, ἐλλέβορον· and Hieronym. ad Marcell.: *Cum primum hoc propositum arripuit, aurum colli sui, quod quidem Murænulam vulgus vocat, (quod scilicet metallo in virgulas lentescente quadam ordinis flexuosi catena contexitur) absque parentibus vendidit.*

[4] *florem.* Es. xi. 1, LXX.: καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται.

CAP. XV. Jesse, super quem tota Divini Spiritus gratia requievit, florem incorruptum, immarcescibilem, sempiternum, quem et bonus miles eligendo in cœlesti dignatione, ordinatione profecit[5]. Erubescite, Romani commilitones ejus, jam non ab ipso judicandi, sed ab aliquo Mithræ[6] milite, qui cum initiatur in spelæo, in castris vere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam, quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accommodatam monetur obvia manu a capite pellere, et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithram esse coronam suam. Atque exinde nunquam coronatur, idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi tentatus fuerit de sacramento, statimque creditur Mithræ miles, si dejecerit coronam, si eam in deo suo esse dixerit. Agnoscamus ingenia diaboli, idcirco quædam de divinis affectantis, ut nos de suorum fide confundat et judicet.

[5] *in cœlesti dignatione, ordinatione profecit,* 'has been promoted in heavenly honour and rank.' The asyndeton is common in Tertull. Cod. Ag. (followed by Oehl.) omits *dignatione*. Rig. reads *in cœlesti ordinatione dignatione profecit*, translated by Dodgs.: 'hath been promoted to honour in the ranks of heaven.'

[6] *Mithræ.* The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithras. See Bähr on Herod. I. 131, and Barthius on Stat. Theb. I. 719: *seu Persei sub rupibus antri Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.* Herod. mentions Μίτρα as a synonym of Venus; and some suppose that the Persians worshipped the sun as Mithras, and the moon as Mithra. The word Mithras constantly forms part of Persian proper names, as *Mithridates, Mitrobates, Ithamitres, Siromitres,* and the like. Comp. De Præscr. c. 40: *Et si adhuc memini, Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos; celebrat panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit, et sub gladio redimit coronam.* Adv. Marc. I. c. 13: *sicut aridæ et ardentis naturæ sacramenta leones Mithræ philosophantur.*

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